

JPRS-UPS-85-033

24 April 1985

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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24 April 1985

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

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INTERNATIONAL

PRIMAKOV, ANATOLIY GROMYKO REMARKS AT SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 2-5

[Article: "The Motto Is Solidarity"]

[Excerpt] "Soviet public opinion is firmly convinced that only the joint and united actions of the socialist countries, the contemporary national-liberation movement, and all peace-loving forces of the planet can insure success in the historic fight of peoples for freedom and independence and peace and social progress. We are ardent supporters of this great fight. The peoples of Asia and Africa can always count on the international support and aid of Soviet public opinion!"

These words from the Appeal of the 5th Soviet Solidarity Conference participants to all comrades-in-arms in the struggle for freedom, independence, peace, and progress became the leitmotif of the forum of Soviet public opinion which took place in Tbilisi, with hundreds of delegates from all ends of our country and guests from abroad taking part.

In his speech opening the conference, Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, nonvoting member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, noted that there is no more important task today for Soviet participants in the solidarity movement and for all its detachments than fighting to implement the clear-cut and firm wish of peoples for peace and giving all-out support to the new mass antiwar demonstrations which have developed in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and on all continents. At the same time the international solidarity movement is intended to give broad support to the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples of the Arab East, Southern Africa, and Central America, and to contribute to the struggle to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone and insure security in Asia and the Pacific Ocean basin. To vigorously fight against the dominance of transnational corporations, secure the economic independence and cultural and social progress of the peoples of developing countries, and establish a new, just international economic order -- this is the noble goal of all democratic and peace-loving forces.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized that the Soviet people carry the banner of proletarian internationalism high and consistently support the real national

and social liberation of the peoples of developing countries and the unity of all antiimperialist forces.

A.S. Dzasokhov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (SAASC) gave the accountability report. He stated that recent years have seen an increase in the aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism and a desire on its part to weaken the position of world socialism and to halt and even turn back the process of social development of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In order to achieve their goals, Western imperialist circles are undermining the foundations of international and interstate relations, thrusting the arms race on the world, the nuclear arms race included, and interfering in the domestic affairs of developing countries.

The course of world events fully confirms the conclusion of the 26th CPSU Congress that adventurism and a readiness to risk the vital interests of mankind in the name of their own narrowly self-interested goals are especially nakedly manifested in the policies of the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

But the dangerous course of imperialist reaction and of warmongers and their attempts to impose neocolonial dominion on liberated countries is meeting determined opposition from the countries of the socialist community and increasing resistance from the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and all democratic and antiwar forces of the planet. In many young states the close interrelationship and interdependence of the futures of their socioeconomic development with the tasks of preserving universal peace, preventing nuclear war, and normalizing the international situation as a whole are being visibly confirmed. Antiwar demands are more and more frequently and insistently being put on the agenda of the mass movement of social forces.

Taking into account the specific features of international development, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee speaks out vigorously in defense of the sovereignty and independence of liberated countries, renders consistent support to national liberation movements, and firmly defends the solidarity and unity of the actions of antiimperialist and antiwar forces.

Conference participants approved the activity of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and outlined prospects for further cooperation and coordination of actions with revolutionary democratic parties and organizations of the states of these continents. A letter addressed to K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was adopted with great enthusiasm.

The new SAASC membership was elected at the conference in Tbilisi. The well-known writer and public figure, Hero of Socialist Laborer M.A. Ibragimov was once again elected chairman.

A. Alekseyev, the journal's special correspondent, met with some of the participants and guests and asked them to share their thoughts on the urgent problems which face the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and on those problems which disturb hundreds of millions of people on the two continents today.

Academician Ye.M. Primakov, director of the Institute of Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and member of the presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, said:

"In recent years the dialectical unity and common interests of the antiwar movement and the movement for national and social liberation are being revealed more and more clearly in developing countries. The active inclusion of the Afro-Asian public in the struggle for peace not only results from the fact that if thermonuclear war is unleashed, it will lead to the destruction of all mankind, the population of these two continents included, but also from the fact that the arms race will have a most painful effect on the situation of the so-called third world countries. It is sufficient to recall that the new U.S. foreign policy concepts call for the expansion of the military presence of this largest imperialist power in various regions of the world.

"The United States is on a deliberate course to create conflict situations, using them for its own narrow interests. The situation in the Near East, in particular in Lebanon, is graphic confirmation of this.

"The American administration has not only adopted a course of confrontation with the USSR and other socialist countries on a global scale but on the regional level as well. And this course affects the interests of the national liberation movements of developing states. In order to protect their sovereignty, they must spend enormous amounts of capital for weapons rather than socioeconomic development. It is precisely for this reason that solidarity with these countries is strengthened, above all, by the movement for peace and against the race in both nuclear and other arms."

An. 4. Gromyko, director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said:

"It is no accident that justifiable criticism of the policies of imperialism, above all American imperialism, has resounded in the conference speeches.

"In Africa imperialists are in fact plundering the continent while claiming to be helping it. They are killing Africans, putting weapons in the hands of racists and encouraging them to use these weapons. This violence is being committed both in relation to progressive independent states and the Namibian freedom fighters and in relation to the native population of the Republic of South Africa. Although, strictly speaking, this is not a republic at all. The Republic of South Africa is a dismal prison for Africans similar to what the Nazis tried to build in Europe. Everyone knows how that ended.

"The same end awaits the South African racists. No matter what misfortunes they threaten the African freedom fighters with, or however they bloat up the punitive machine of repression, the finale will be the same -- apartheid will collapse like a tree that has rotted through. No matter in what guise it is used against the people, force cannot for long be substituted for rights -- the right to live, real democracy, equality of races and peoples, and finally the right to work in conditions of a just society.

"Because of the imperialist arms race, above all the nuclear missile arms race, mankind is in danger. More and more strata of world public opinion not only recognize this danger increasingly clearly, but fight against it as well. The Soviet solidarity movement with the peoples of Asia and Africa also contributes to this struggle.

"We intend henceforth to explain to everyone both the direct and indirect danger of nuclear war and to fight against the nuclear threat together with our foreign friends. This is already a scientifically proven fact today: if nuclear war were to break out, it would bring with it the death of people, fauna, and flora even in the most remote corners of the globe."

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ENGLISH ARTICLE SUMMARIES OF AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 2-6

[Summaries of articles in journal from English-language edition, with corrections]

[Text] The front pages of the journal are devoted to reports on the sittings of the 5th Conference of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity, held in Tbilisi. In its Appeal to the peoples of the two continents, the Conference participants say that the Soviet public is firmly convinced: only the joint and consolidated actions of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, and all peace-loving forces can secure success in the historic battle of all peoples for freedom, independence, and social progress.

In his speech opening the Conference, Eduard Shevardnadze, nonvoting member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, said that in our day and age there is no more formidable task than the fight to implement the peoples' clear-cut and firm will to secure peace and give all-out support to new mass antiwar demonstrations on all continents. At the same time, the international solidarity movement is designed to give the widest support to the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples of the Arab East, South Africa, and Central America, to contribute to the struggle to make the Indian Ocean a peace zone, and to secure peace in Asia and the Indian Ocean basin.

Hundreds of delegates from all parts of the Soviet Union and foreign guests took part in the conference proceedings.

In their article, "France's Policy in Tropical Africa: Words and Deeds," the authors L. Andreyev and Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Kolker write that having accumulated rich experience in exploiting foreign countries, primarily those in Africa, France, one of the biggest Western states, holds a special place in the neocolonialist strategy of imperialism, which it carries out to oppose the national liberation struggle and halt its development into a struggle for social emancipation. The specific line pursued by its ruling circles vis-a-vis the Black Continent is ultimately directed by its desire to safeguard the economic, political, and military-strategic interests of French monopoly capital in Africa. At the same time, there are objective factors compelling certain independent African states to maintain and develop more or

less close contacts with the former mother country, as they gravely need economic and technological assistance, foreign markets, maintenance of high prices for "tropical goods," and so forth. These states hope Paris will solve all these problems. The studies of the question show that upon Mitterrand's becoming president, France became more flexible in its relations with the developing world, as it tries to play the part of defending its interests. The authors of the article arrive at the conclusion, however, that France's objectives as regards Africa have stayed the same, notwithstanding any corrections in the ways and means used. The basic goal cherished by France is to enhance its influence in Africa in every way, as Africa is a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods for its former mother country.

Being a part of the international movement of champions for peace on Earth, the antiwar movement in Israel is a complicated and multifaceted phenomenon. Representatives of various political parties, groups, and public organizations are affiliated in its ranks. The aggression against Lebanon evoked an unprecedented upsurge of antiwar discontent and new organizations and groups of champions for peace appeared, including those of reservists and servicemen. Based on all these facts, I. Lisitsina arrived at the conclusion in her article, "The Antiwar Movement in Israel," that the movement has recently become qualitatively different.

"Those Times in Iran" is a continuation of the story published in the preceding issue of AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA. The author, Soviet diplomat V. Berezhkov, tells the reader about the situation that existed in Iran after Hitler Germany's attack against the Soviet Union and Washington's attempt to take advantage of the situation and carry out its political schemes there.

Under the heading of the "Countries, People, Times" section, journalist Yu. Savitskiy describes today's Ghana in his article "Three Years of Transformations." Three years ago, the author writes, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) headed by J. Rawlings came to power. In the international arena the PNDC has been opposing the U.S. imperialist aggressive policy that has been threatening world peace and the security of nations. Ghana has been unequivocally supporting an end to the arms race and prevention of a nuclear holocaust. The PNDC pursues its progressive foreign policy course and simultaneously carries out socioeconomic measures in the interests of most of the people. However, the present situation is gravely affected by the dire legacy of the past which the PNDC inherited and which it tries to overcome, above all in the economic sphere. The author discusses the measures taken by the leadership in its attempts to overcome the difficulties and repel intrigues from domestic and foreign reaction.

"Travels, Meetings, Impressions" offers a story, "Burmese Mosaics," written by journalist A. Artamonov, which tells the reader about life on the Coconut Islands and about their inhabitants, the Pao tribe. These people know how to tame fire and elongate women's necks, which is considered a special feature of beauty there. The same section carries the story entitled "A Night in Beni-Mellal," which was written by S. Chugrov and describes a small Moroccan town.

A. Ter-Grigoryan writes that dakotism, a kind of banditry which has existed in India for centuries, has not yet been eliminated in that country. From time

to time local periodicals carry long stories about chiefs of bandit gangs, more often than not presenting these materials in a sensational manner. In the article in our journal, "Will the Dacoits Capitulate?," the author writes that such cases have nothing sensational about them: they are a serious problem, one of those India has inherited from the past. The road toward the solution lies, as in many other cases, through socioeconomic reforms and measures which must be taken to improve the life of the working masses.

The "Youth in the Contemporary World" essay is dedicated to the international seminar of young teachers and students on the problems of peace and cooperation in the countries on the Pacific Ocean. In 1984 the seminar marked the decade of its existence with the 12th regular meeting at Nakhodka, a port in the Soviet Maritime area. Over 100 people from 29 countries participated in the work of the seminar. Three main topics were discussed: "The 1980's -- the Pacific in World Politics"; "The Pacific in the 3,000's -- Possibilities and Problems of Obtaining its Resources"; and "The Role of Young Scholars and Youth in the Pacific Region in Eliminating the Nuclear Threat and Supporting Peace and Understanding Among Peoples".

In "Sociologist's Comments," Ye. Ionova deals with the people of Minangkabau and their present and past way of life. The author writes that this is the largest ethnos in Indonesia; these people, who account for approximately 3 percent of the country's population, produced almost 10 percent of the intellectuals from among their midst. The Minangkabaus' great contribution to the anticolonial struggle, as well as their contribution to the development of the Indonesian cultural, state, and economic progress of independent Indonesia, is also well known. The present level of progress which representatives of the Minangkabau ethnos have achieved (earlier than many other Indonesian peoples) has invariably attracted the attention of foreign scholars. The article is written on the basis of press reports.

The "Economist's Forum" carries the article by Doctor of Economic Sciences G. Shirokov, "The Developing Countries and the Capitalist Raw Material Economy." The author examines the changes taking place in raw materials trade in the world capitalist market. He notes that scientific and technological revolution stimulates replacing imports of raw materials with imports of semifinished and finished goods. Under capitalism, however, the process cannot help being contradictory; therefore, the process of restructuring the raw materials economy is of a prolonged and interrupted nature. On the whole, however, industrialized capitalist countries overcome their need for raw materials and food relatively sooner than developing countries manage to restructure their colonial economies. Difficulties in reproduction pile up and conditions in the developing countries which export raw materials worsen because of this.

The "Culture, Literature, Art" section presents an article by Ye. Semenyuta which describes the Dostoyevsky Society in Japan which has 120 members. In addition to well-known writers, the society includes representatives of the most diverse occupations. Dostoyevsky became known in Japan late in the last century and since then his books have been avidly read by a broad reading public.

"Reviews and Information": this section presents an article by V. Kurbatov on the problems of agriculture in China; agriculture is a major sector of the country's economy. In spite of that, Chinese agriculture was in dire straits for quite a long time. Now too, despite measures taken by the leadership, many problems remain and new ones crop up to replace the ones eliminated. Chinese scholars are faced with the task of choosing the path of development for the Chinese countryside in the future.

The "Pages of History" section carries an article about Lobengula, one of the South African rulers of the past. The author, A. Davidson, gives a portrait of this freedom fighter who began his struggle against colonialism in the period when the imperialist states had just begun their strife over Africa.

The "Religions, Beliefs, Cults" pages contain an article by Professor D. Yeremeyev, "The Koran as a Historical-Ethnographic Source."

"In the World of Books" publishes reviews of the monograph by S. Voytovich, "The United Nations and the Socialist Countries," a monograph by a team of authors, "Nationalism in Contemporary Africa," and a book by the Polish diplomat and scholar W. Goralski, "Dilemmas of Southeast Asia."

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INTERNATIONAL

NO DIFFERENCE SEEN BETWEEN MITTERRAND, GISCARD AFRICAN POLICY

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 6-9

[Article by L. Andreyev and B. Kolker, candidate of historical sciences:
"France's Policy in Tropical Africa: Words and Deeds"]

[Text] France -- one of the largest imperialist powers and one which has accumulated a wealth of experience in exploiting "overseas" countries, primarily African ones -- occupies a special place in carrying out the neocolonialist strategy of opposing the national liberation struggle and halting its development into a struggle for social emancipation. The specific line of its ruling circles in regard to the "Black Continent," which remains a very important sphere of France's foreign policy activity, is invariably determined by its aspiration to protect the economic, political, and military-strategic interests of French monopoly capital in the region. On the other hand, there are objective factors which force a number of independent African states to develop and maintain more or less close ties with the former mother country: a critical need for economic and technical assistance and foreign markets, a need to maintain prices for "tropical" commodities, and so on. These states put their trust in the good will of Paris in all the issues mentioned. Moreover, some regimes rely on French assistance to insure their own stability and simply to survive. French imperialism skillfully uses all this to preserve and when possible strengthen its positions on the continent.

It is easy to observe a certain contradiction in the African policy of France, which continually yields to the temptation to act "in the old way" using methods of direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states which at one time were its possessions (the Central African Republic, Chad, and so forth) and tries to impede their departure from the sphere of its (and the whole West's) influence and their acquisition of true independence. In addition, the objective processes of Africa's social, economic, and political development force France to reckon with the interests of African states and reorganize, if not its own strategy, in any case its tactics.

After F. Mitterrand was elected president of the country in May 1981, the question arose -- what should the socialist's government's course in relation to Africa be? In his preelection statements F. Mitterrand sharply criticized V. Giscard d'Estaing's African policy, evaluating it as "neocolonialist." He

placed direct responsibility for France's armed intervention in Africa on his predecessor, emphasizing his inability to handle crises by political means.

At the same time, however, F. Mitterrand advanced his own concept of the development of relations with African countries, advocating noninterference in their domestic affairs and supporting the Organization of African Unity. In the field of economic cooperation he declared himself a supporter of turning from "charity aid," a "source of momentary advantage" for France but fraught with the danger of serious "disruption of the equilibrium" of both its own economy and the economy of the African countries, to a mutually beneficial partnership within the framework of the "new international economic order."

Characteristically, in the period between the first and second rounds of the presidential elections, the French Socialist Party (PS) leadership disseminated a document titled "The Socialist Party and Africa South of the Sahara"; this document defined the policy of the previous leadership as "political and economic conservatism combined with the strategy to expand beyond the limits of the traditional zone of influence" and asserted its complete failure. The document presented new directions which, in the leadership's opinion, should be followed in African policy. Thus, it was proposed to take steps to settle the conflicts which have shaken the continent, stop giving any kind of financial or other support to the racist regime of Pretoria, accept the resolution on economic sanctions against the regime of apartheid adopted by the United Nations, and, preserving "preferential relations" with Africa, develop cooperation not only with former French colonies but with the continent's other countries as well.

Moreover, considering it advisable to continue military cooperation with a number of African countries, the socialists did not in principle condemn the so-called defense treaties, but only pointed out that their purpose should be to defend these countries from foreign threat rather than "unconditional support of the regimes or rulers" of particular countries. As far as military bases are concerned, they said the new government should discuss this question with the appropriate countries "with consideration for their geostrategic position."

F. Mitterrand's preelection statements, in particular his aspiration to attach a "global character" to France's aid to developing countries, that is to spread it beyond Africa, caused concern among the leaders of a number of African states who were afraid that their share of this aid would prove to be smaller than before. This reaction induced the new masters of the Elysee Palace to hurriedly make soothing reassurances.

Soon after his appointment, the minister of external relations, C. Cheysson, announced that there would be no "abrupt changes" in French diplomacy and that "for a little while" it would follow the line of the previous government, but France would support its African friends and allies "more vigorously than ever." In the summer of 1981 energetic steps were taken to explain France's "new African policy." Jean-Pierre Cotte, the minister delegate to the Ministry of External Relations for Cooperation and Development, and Guy Penn, the president's advisor on African affairs, visited 17 of the continent's

countries. In turn the leaders of a number of African states as well as the general secretary of the Organization of African Unity visited Paris.

The purpose of the visits of the French emissaries was to reassure France's traditional partners in regard to the new government's intentions. Thus, in Senegal J.-P. Cotte even announced that "France is not ashamed of its military cooperation with Africa and will expand it if states on the continent request it." A little earlier he made it understood that France could intervene, including by armed means, in the internal affairs of African countries as before, but only "with the agreement and support of other forces, especially on a regional level."

A new stage in the "elaboration" of France's policy in Africa was the 8th French-African Meeting (Paris, November 1981), which, despite all the efforts of the Elyssee Palace, proved, as the French press noted, that there were substantially more elements of continuity than innovations in its "new African policy." At this representative forum which the heads of state and government of 33 African countries attended, F. Mitterrand did not stint on promises, saying repeatedly that France would fulfill its own obligations in Africa and henceforth would not resort to intervention in the internal affairs of the continent's countries. In connection with this, one of the largest French bourgeois newspapers LE FIGARO wrote that the president had said "nothing new." The socialists' main task is to "orient the countries of Africa on the path preferred by Paris." No statements, LE FIGARO continued, would prevent continuity from being victorious in France's African policy and rule out the practice of armed intervention, as in the previous seven years. Less than two years passed before the paper's predictions came true.

But before this F. Mitterrand managed to make three tours around the African continent (he visited Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, and Senegal in May 1982; Burundi, Ruanda, Zaire, and the Congo in October 1982; and Togo, Benin, and Gabon in January 1983). Everywhere he went he said that France would no longer be the "gendarme of Africa" and confirmed his intention to put Africa first when giving economic aid.

Proceeding from the theory of the "interdependence" of industrially developed capitalist states and developing countries and also believing that the world economic crisis "must not serve as a pretext for reducing aid," the French leadership emphasized that reviving the economies of developing countries was in the interests of France. In September 1981 F. Mitterrand said: "Helping the 'third world' means helping ourselves escape from crisis." He simultaneously announced that France had decided to play the role of "intermediary and advocate for Africa" in such organizations as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and at various international forums. In proof of France's solidarity with developing countries, above all African ones, he announced his intention to bring appropriations for "development aid" of these countries to 0.7 percent of France's gross national product by the end of his presidential term (that is, by 1988), with the share of aid to the least developed countries being 0.15 percent of gross national product by 1985.

At the conference of developed capitalist and developing countries in Cancun (1981), after sharply criticizing the policies of the transnational monopolies, F. Mitterrand spoke out in favor of global negotiations with developing countries within the framework of the United Nations as well as for taking effective steps to stabilize prices for raw materials on world markets.

Following the course he proclaimed, the French government increased the aid to all developing countries from 10 billion francs in 1980 to 20 billion francs in 1982; this included increasing aid to French-speaking African states from 4 billion francs in 1980 to 5.8 billion francs in 1983 (6.45 billion francs are to be given in aid in 1984). The volume of France's foreign trade with African countries has also increased -- from 127.1 billion francs in 1981 to 167.8 billion francs in 1983.

At the same time, the lack of long-term concepts in the field of foreign policy, the substitution of a pragmatic approach to particular international problems, and the contradictions and fluctuations within the country's leadership -- all this could not help but have an effect on France's African policy as well.

While posing the task of "decolonizing" cooperation, reviewing the entire mechanism, and subjecting it to "critical analysis dependent on the requirements of development," the French leadership considers one of the goals of this cooperation to be "preventing the conflict between East and West from keeping the Africans themselves from solving their own problems," so that they can "follow the path of genuine nonalignment." Such slogans, which have been proclaimed before ("Africa for Africans" under V. Giscard d'Estaing), conceal nothing less than a desire to separate the African states from the world of socialism. Above all this means those countries of socialist orientation which the French socialists called their "natural partners" before F. Mitterrand's victory in the elections.

It must be said that these countries viewed leftist forces coming into power in France with satisfaction. The leaders of many of them visited Paris and met with F. Mitterrand. Some countries of this group began to participate in annual French-African summit meetings; this aroused some concern in a number of "moderate" African states. In connection with this, F. Mitterrand hurried to assure their leaders that stronger ties between France and Angola, Tanzania, Benin, the Congo, and so forth would not be at the expense of a weakening of ties with traditional partners.

In making certain efforts to straighten out relations with the countries of socialist orientation, the French Socialist Party leaders who had come into power expected, among other things, to weaken their cooperation with the socialist community and in the future to possibly impose their own model of "democratic socialism" on them. France's economic aid to these states was increased. Thus, France concluded contracts worth 1.5 billion francs with Angola in 1981. Aid to Benin increased to 145.8 million francs in 1982 as compared to 91.3 million in 1980, and part of its debt to France, a sum of 27.3 million francs was written off. Economic aid to Madagascar was substantially increased.

At the same time a trend to intensify the ideological impact on Africa was noted, primarily through developing the community of French-speaking countries which, in F. Mitterrand's words, is "one of France's important tasks." It was planned to raise state expenditures for the study of the French language abroad in 1984 to 1.58 billion francs, increasing them by a factor of 2.5 as compared to the 1980 level (607 million francs).

Despite a number of new features in France's relations with African countries, the line of its previous leadership is being preserved in many aspects. For example, the preelection promises of socialists to reduce France's military presence in Africa proved to be only promises. "France," declared J.-P. Cotte, will keep troops on the territory of its African allies until they are in a position to insure their own security."

As before, France maintains regular troops on the African continent. According to the foreign press, there are presently about 14,000 French soldiers there; this includes those at bases in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, Djibouti, Gabon, and Chad. Not only has France's military presence in Africa not been reduced since 1981; on the contrary, it has been increased. As the journal DEFENSE NATIONALE wrote in July 1983, this presence allows France to "hold its ground among the great powers" and "intervene in international relations according to its interests."

Measures are being taken to expand and strengthen French interventionist forces. In April 1983 Paris decided to create so-called "rapid action forces" totaling 47,000 people. Among others they include the 11th Airborne Assault Division, the 9th Marine Division, units of the Foreign Legion, and the 31st "Intervention" Hemibrigade, which has become widely known for its operations in Gabon, Chad, Mauritania, Zaire, the Central African Republic, and other African states. An increase in the amount of military aid to African states is also observed (678 million francs in 1983 and more than 800 million francs in 1984). In general, France remains one of the largest suppliers of weapons in the world, primarily to developing countries. From 1973 through 1982 the volume of French military exports to these countries almost doubled -- from 538 million dollars to 1.087 billion dollars. About 80 percent of French weapons are sent to the Near East and to North Africa, but deliveries to Tropical African countries are also being increased.

After the new government came to power in France, it seemed that it would stop the unrestrained "trade in death." In June 1981 the then prime minister P. Maurois announced that France "intended to gradually stop being a large seller of weapons on the international level." The first secretary of the French Socialist Party seconded him and confirmed that the "health of the French economy must not be based on the successes of the gun merchants." Nonetheless, just 2 month later, while opening an aviation exhibition in Bourges, the prime minister had emphasized that France's obligations in the field of arms deliveries "will be observed just as they are in commerce."

According to the testimony of the Parisian daily NOUVELLE OBSERVATOIRE, "the socialists sell more weapons throughout the entire world and do it better than their predecessors." Only the practices of this selling have changed. Preference is now given to "contracts with cooperation," that is, with

agreements on transferring technology, training personnel, and giving military aid. It should be noted that France's military program for 1984-1988, which was adopted in April 1983 and for whose implementation 705 billion francs were allocated, is to be financed to a great degree by increasing weapons exports.

Despite official statements on France's intention to relax "supervision" of the African countries related to it through treaty obligations, help develop their "independence," and avoid political and military intervention in their affairs, in this sense too the French government is essentially following the former policy. Thus, F. Mitterrand emphasized that if a certain government appealed to France, it would "fulfill all its treaty obligations," including offering military aid. It is no accident that France did not withdraw its troops from the Central African Republic under the pretext of the danger of civil war starting there. France was the inspiration of the coup d'etat in this country in September 1981 and gave direct aid to the new regime to suppress an attempted revolution in March 1982.

Events in Chad, which for two decades already has been rent by internal conflicts sometimes incited by France itself, provides vivid evidence of the "continuity" of Paris's course in regard to French-speaking African countries.

In evaluating the Giscard policy in Chad as France's greatest failure in Africa, the new government declared that it would not even try to take any kind of "direct initiative." On the contrary, it said it was ready to support the collective efforts of African countries aimed at searching for a mutually acceptable settlement. In November 1982 F. Mitterrand said that France would "continue to give aid to restore Chad and join any actions guaranteeing its unity and independence."

Nonetheless, despite the president's assurances that France had no desire to intervene in the conflict, in the summer of 1983 Chad was sent arms and equipment and then a French expeditionary force numbering 3,500 people, whose task included "saving" the pro-West regime of H. Habre.

Many African countries viewed France's intervention in Chad as a return to the old methods of the "gendarme of Africa" -- all the more so since F. Mitterrand himself acknowledged that France violated the framework of the 1976 treaty on military cooperation with Chad. He openly stated that in case of a "threat," French troops would "not be limited only to defense operations."

Despite France's attempts to justify its interventionist action, in particular at the next Franco-African meeting in Vittel (October 1983), voices criticizing Paris's present policy in Africa resounded more and more loudly. It was precisely because of the lack of desire of many African states to support France's intervention in Chadian affairs that the meeting in Vittel ended, according to the French press, "on a false note," with practically no results.

Of course, as under V. Giscard d'Estaing, armed intervention has proven unable to solve the problems of unfortunate Chad, even in part. Faced with increasing condemnation of its own policies not only by world public opinion, particularly African public opinion, but French public opinion as well, and

unable to handle the financial expenditures related to the Chadian operation, Paris was forced to come to an agreement with Libya in September 1984 on the simultaneous withdrawal of the troops of the two countries from Chad. Nonetheless, official representatives of France do not rule out the return of French contingents (partially evacuated to the neighboring Central African Republic) if a threat to the H. Habre regime arises.

At one time the leadership of the French Socialist Party sharply criticized V. Giscard d'Estaing's policy in regard to the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. Speaking after F. Mitterrand came into power, the first secretary of the French Socialist Party, L. Jospin promised that Paris would make every effort to see that Namibia received its independence as quickly as possible. He declared that capital investments by France in the Republic of South Africa would be stopped and an embargo on deliveries of weapons to Pretoria would be observed (although it was stipulated that France would fulfill all orders received from the country earlier). But even to this day France remains one of the most important economic partners of the Republic of South Africa. It is true France refused to supply Pretoria with equipment for a second atomic power plant, censures the apartheid regime, and speaks out against the illegal occupation of Namibia, but it stubbornly opposes implementing economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. In the opinion of the journal INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, "economic pragmatism clearly prevails over idealism and any thought of sanctions has disappeared from official statements." The Republic of South Africa is one of France's most important trade partners on the African continent.

France's withdrawal in late 1983 from the "contact group" of Western countries on Namibia does not so much attest to its changed position for the better as to the bankruptcy of the policy of the imperialist powers on the issue of settling this problem.

The ambiguity of the African policy of the present French leadership and its affection for the former course as well as differences in the approach to relations with developing countries on the whole have led to serious disagreements between F. Mitterrand and supporters of fundamental change in the "policy of cooperation." The conflict concluded in December 1982 with the resignation of J.-P. Cotte, the minister delegate to the Ministry of External Affairs for Cooperation and Development. The "policy of cooperation" has become more expressly personal in nature and F. Mitterrand himself has begun to define it to an even greater extent. The foreign press called this a victory of the "realists" over the "idealists."

As the analysis demonstrates, under the present leadership France has begun to exhibit substantially more flexibility in relations with the developing world, while trying to appear in the role of defender of its interests. Based on a goal of activating ties with young states, France is doing its best to increase its prestige among its African partners.

Nonetheless, despite some adjustments in means and methods, the goals of Paris's African policy are the same as before: its basic task is strengthening French influence in Africa by every means; Africa remains a major source of raw material resources and a market for selling finished output for the former

mother country. As before, this policy primarily serves the interests of monopoly capital, which is illustrated by the obvious discrepancy between the positions of France's government on a number of African problems and the foreign policy goals of the French Socialist Party. As before, the words of the country's leaders too often disagree with their actions.

FOOTNOTE

1. For more details on the causes and circumstances of this step by France as well as the provocative role of U.S. imperialism in Chadian events see: V. Yevgen'yev, "Chad. Who to Blame for the Bloodshed," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 5, 1984.

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CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

ANTIWAR ACTIVITY OF ISRAEL'S CP, OTHER PEACE GROUPS ASSESSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 10-12

[Article by I. Lisitsyna, candidate of historical sciences: "The Antiwar Movement in Israel"]

[Text] The antiwar movement has expanded in Israel in recent years despite the growing strength of extremely nationalistic and even profascist tendencies. Peace-loving forces must operate in extremely difficult conditions where Zionist ideology and practices reign. Their struggle is made more complicated by the ruling circles' continuous pressure on them. Terrorist and extremist organizations, which have grown considerably stronger in recent years, take an openly hostile position toward the peace-loving forces.

The entire educational system and the mass information media purposefully strive to instill a sense of racial superiority in the Jewish population, above all the youth. Clerical circles also make their contribution to stirring up chauvinist and nationalistic moods. Because of this, it is very difficult for those who speak out against the aggressive schemes of the Zionists and against seizing neighboring Arab lands to operate.

The antiwar movement in Israel is a complex and multilevel phenomenon. Representatives of different political parties, groups, and social organizations are united in its ranks. Among the fighters for peace are Jews and Arabs. The rise of the antiwar movement is mainly related to the crisis periods in the country's political life resulting from Tel-Aviv's latest aggression against the neighboring Arab countries. The antiwar movement has always become most popular during these periods, encompassing practically all strata of the population.

The Communist Party of Israel (MAKI) and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality¹ which it heads are in the vanguard of the antiwar movement; these organizations advocate the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories seized during the 1967 aggression and the creation of an independent Arab Palestinian state. A number of progressive social organizations which continually advocate the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East also support the communist party's struggle in this direction. These organizations include: the "Israel-USSR" Friendship

Movement; the association of fighters of the anti-Nazi front and victims of Nazism; the Democratic Women of Israel Movement; and others.

The activity of the peace-loving forces headed by the Israeli Communist Party is not confined by the borders of Israel. They also speak out in the international arena: for disarmament; for the limitation and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons; and for the creation of nonnuclear zones in different parts of the world, including the Near East. The peace-loving forces of Israel take an active part in international conferences, seminars, and symposiums on the problem of settling the Near East conflict.

Several basic stages, each with its own characteristic features, can be traced in the communist party's activity aimed at uniting all the country's peace-loving and democratic forces into a single front. Before the 1967 aggression, the communists were the only force which spoke out against the expansionist policy of the ruling circles. The Israeli Communist Party managed to find the necessary forms in its activity to help recruit working people for the struggle for political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to unite representatives of different political views in the struggle for peace.

A new upsurge in the antiwar movement was related to the consequences of the 1973 October war, which destroyed the myth of the "invincibility of the Israeli army" and provoked a social, political, and moral crisis in the country. The social base of the peace-loving forces was significantly expanded in this period: representatives of the intelligentsia, students, university teachers, white collar workers, lawyers, and journalists, Jews and Arabs alike, actively joined the antiwar movement.

A distinctive event in the country's social life in the late 1970's was the emergence of the "Peace Now!" antiwar movement, largest of all in scope, whose members included representatives of different strata of Israeli society. The movement was organized in March 1978 during the dispatch of letters of protest to Prime Minister M. Begin. Tens of thousands of people put their signatures at the bottom of some of them. Representatives of the middle and older generations, youth, students, kibbutzim, representatives of religiously-inclined Jews, and Jews of Eastern and Western origin were among the Israelis who signed the petitions, declarations, and appeals to the government and took part in mass demonstrations and meetings organized by the movement.

In their speeches the supporters of the "Peace Now!" movement condemned the government's policy aimed at creating new settlements on occupied Arab territories. On 13 January 1979 the movement organized a mass demonstration in Jerusalem against the government's decision to create new militarized settlements near Nabulus on the West Bank of the River Jordan.

The activities of the "Peace Now!" movement in this period turned into a massive upsurge of the antiwar movement and had substantial repercussions. Representatives of a number of kibbutzim, religiously-inclined Israelis, and representatives of the country's business circles gave active support (including financial support) to the movement. The activities of the movement also received much response abroad: representatives of the Jewish community spoke out in its support.

But there were also certain shortcomings in the movement's activities at that time. One of them was the duality of its participants' position. This duality was expressed in the organization of mass actions aimed at establishing peace, but based on separate agreements with Egypt like the Camp David accords. In late 1978 representatives of the organization advocated continuing Egyptian-Israeli negotiations on "establishing peace."

Without any clearly formulated political program or organized forms, the movement carried out its actions and promoted slogans which were not always consistent. It did not attempt to establish contacts with representatives of the communist party and progressive organizations of the country.

In the following period, in the early 1980's, the Likud ruling bloc continued to persistently carry out an expansionist policy in relation to the neighboring Arab countries under the screen of the Zionist slogan of insuring the "security of its borders." The new stage of the antiwar movement is linked to Israel's barbarous aggression in Lebanon in June 1982, which aroused anger and indignation in the entire world. The aggression led to some changes in the domestic policy situation in Israel, which was reflected in the further polarization of social forces. In this period, on the one hand, a strengthening of the positions of the ultrarightist Zionist circles was observed, and, on the other, even in conditions of a general movement to the right, further growth and expansion of the antiwar movement was taking place. Despite the fact that as before most Israelis continued to be influenced by militaristic and chauvinistic moods which were pumped up by the ruling Zionist circles, in the period of Israel's aggression in Lebanon a mass antiwar movement developed in the country; the supporters of this movement spoke out with demands for immediate cessation of military actions, the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and investigation of crimes committed against the Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila camps as well as the resignation of Prime Minister M. Begin and A. Sharon, the minister of defense.

The vigorous activity of the main core of antiimperialist, peace-loving forces under the leadership of the communist party has, in many respects, promoted the rise of the antiwar movement in Israel since the very first days of aggression. Headed by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, this activity sharply condemned Israel's barbarous aggression against Lebanon. On 7 June 1982, right after the aggression was unleashed, the Israeli Communist Party published a statement condemning the ruling circles' expansionist course. On 10 June an extraordinary plenum of the Israeli Communist Party took place where a comprehensive analysis of the causes and nature of the aggression was given.

The slaughter in Sabra and Shatila upset broad social circles in Israel. The aggression resulted in numerous losses among the Israelis and forced the "average Israeli" to think about the inhuman policy of the ruling Zionist circles in regard to its own people and the peoples of neighboring Arab countries. The yearning of the public to oppose the barbarous acts of terror, the murder of peaceful residents, and the strengthening of profascist forces in the country also served as a cause of the rise of the antiwar movement.

The 1982 aggression caused an upsurge in the peace movement unprecedented in the entire history of the country's existence; this movement had a number of characteristic features. It rose to a qualitatively new level, illustrated by its wider social composition, the scale and scope of its demonstrations, and the participation of representatives of different strata of the population, as well as the demonstrations of units of reservists and servicemen, both enlisted men and officers, which sharply criticized the government course in the foreign policy sphere.

In analyzing the features of the development of the antiwar movement at this time, M. Vil'ner, the general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee, noted: "during this war (in Lebanon -- author) a sharp demarcation took place in Israeli society on the question of a person's attitude toward the war. For the first time in the history of Arab-Israeli armed conflicts, a mass antiwar movement arose in our country which undertook a struggle against genocide and for a just Arab-Israeli peace. Now much broader circles of our public realize that the war in Lebanon is unjust, that the Palestinian problem cannot be solved by military methods, and that the course the ruling Zionist clique is conducting threatens the existence of Israel itself."

The upsurge of the antiwar movement in the country found expression in the creation of a number of new organizations, movements, and groups. The most significant of these were the Committee Against the War in Lebanon and the Committee Against the War in Lebanon and For a Just Peace Between Israel and the Palestinians. The former was organized on 12 June 1982 with the active participation of the communist party and representatives of various social circles of the country. The Committee advocated satisfying the lawful nationality rights of the Arab people of Palestine and forming an independent Arab Palestinian state. On 16 June 1982 the Committee distributed a leaflet which emphasized that the aggression in Lebanon "has turned the Israeli army into the U.S. policeman in the Near East. The Palestinians continue to live and fight. There was no reason to unleash this war; therefore we demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon."

By its concrete and efficient antiwar actions, the Committee played a significant role in the upsurge of the antiwar movement. On its initiative a mass demonstration against the aggression in Lebanon, with 20,000 people participating, took place on 26 June 1982. The demonstrators carried the slogans: "Down With the Dirty War in Lebanon!" "Immediate Withdrawal of Israeli Troops from Lebanon!" and "Two States for Two Peoples -- the Israelis and the Palestinians!" More than 100 servicemen, soldiers and officers, joined those participating in the demonstration organized by the Committee and collected financial means to support it. The Committee's activity also helped step up the actions of the "Peace Now" organization and other antiwar groups.

The Committee Against the War in Lebanon and for a Just Peace Between Israel and the Palestinians, which united representatives of the country's Arab population, was organized on 10 June 1982 in Nazareth on the Israeli Communist Party's initiative. It advocated negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the creation of an independent Arab Palestinian state, and the cessation of Israel's barbarous aggression in Lebanon. The Committee's leaders appealed to progressive forces to collaborate. On its initiative a

general strike of Israel's Arab population took place protesting the violence committed against the residents of the Palestinian camps, Sabra and Shatila.

The expression of dissatisfaction with the government's aggressive policy in the ranks of the Israeli army was a distinctive new feature of the antiwar movement in the early 1980's. The public viewed this fact as yet another manifestation of the "crisis of confidence" in the country's Zionist leadership. Antiwar sentiments intensified among regular soldiers, reservists, and officers, many of whom united around the new antiwar groups "There Is a Limit!" and "Soldiers Against Silence." Some reservists refused to serve in Lebanon or in occupied Arab territories.

The "Soldiers Against Silence" group originated in late June 1982 on the initiative of demobilized soldiers who had fought in Lebanon. Its main task was to condemn the adventurist government course and disseminate more honest information about events in Lebanon. There were certain differences among the organization's supporters: some believed there was a "threat from the northern borders" for Israel; others viewed this assertion somewhat skeptically.

The "There Is a Limit!" movement was organized at the very start of the aggression. Its members were retired officers and soldiers. Activists of this antiwar organization advocated freeing E. Gozhanskiy, a serviceman who had participated in the youth movement in Israel and refused to serve in Lebanon, from prison. The campaign which developed in his defense united representatives of various political directions. The organization had 348 members, including 42 officers. The main objective of the members of this organization was to refuse to serve in Lebanon and demand to serve within the territory of Israel's 1948 borders.

In conditions of the supercharged war hysteria, despite a number of shortcomings -- the lack of unity and precise political demands and the compromising nature of the demonstrations -- the reservist movement played a positive role in the upsurge of the antiwar movement in the country and provoked a response from the ruling Zionist circles.

One of the specific features of the development of the domestic policy situation in the country at this time was a breakdown of the "national consensus" which to a certain extent was manifested earlier during Israel's aggression against the Arab countries. For example, in their speeches and evaluations of the government course, some members of the National Religious Party attempted to dissociate themselves from the acts of terror and violence against peaceful residents in Lebanon and from the bloody murders and vast destruction in Lebanese cities and villages. Certain representatives of the orthodox religious party, Agudat Israel, also criticized the government for the aggression and demanded it be stopped. In the fall of 1982 several rabbis organized a demonstration in front of the Supreme Rabbinate building in Jerusalem and demanded an official investigation of crimes committed by the Israeli military against Palestinian residents in the Sabra and Shatila camps.

Y. Sarid, a member of the Knesset from the opposition Labor Party, condemned Israel's aggression and demanded the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination

and the creation of an independent state. Under his leadership, a number of antiwar demonstrations took place in front of the Knesset building. On 13 June 1982 he and his supporters appealed to the government to stop bombing Beirut and destroying the Palestinians' camps.

The activity of the "Peace Now!" organization also promoted the upsurge of the antiwar movement, despite the fact that it was indecisive at the start of the aggression (the result of Labor Party influence). Nevertheless, it later stepped up its activity and, for example, on 3 July 1982 organized a 100,000-strong demonstration under the slogan -- "Down With A War Like This!" -- in which representatives of different political parties, social organizations, students, reservists, and the intelligentsia participated. After the bloody events in Sabra and Shatila which had stirred up the country, on the initiative of "Peace Now!" an antiwar demonstration in which 400,000 people joined took place on 25 September in Tel-Aviv, for the first time in the country's history. Those participating demanded the formation of a commission to investigate cases of reprisals against Palestinians in Beirut.

Representatives of women's social organizations who had organized the antiwar group "Women Against Invasion" also actively participated in the antiwar movement. In April 1983, on the initiative of the female activists, the "Parents Against Silence" group, which in a short time turned into one of the largest antiwar organizations, was created. Its members were basically middle-aged and elderly people, and about 96 percent women. Mass antiwar demonstrations (about 15,000 people participated in one of them) were organized on its initiative. In June representatives of the "Parents Against Silence" group met with M. Begin and M. Ahrens and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. This group's activists organized a mass collection of signatures demanding that the government return their sons from Lebanon. Fathers and mothers of Israeli soldiers who had been killed in Lebanon angrily protested the government's antipeople policy at a meeting organized in May 1983 by supporters of the "Parents Against Silence" group with representatives of a number of kibbutzim.

The analysis of the development of the antiwar movement in Israel during the aggression in Lebanon permits the conclusion that in the early 1980's, it reached its greatest scope in the country's entire history, became significantly stronger, and rose to a qualitatively new level. The antiwar movement acquired a number of new features, expanded its social base, and increased the number of Israelis who recognized the need to solve the problem of a Near East settlement by peaceful means and satisfy the lawful nationality rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

However, a number of serious shortcomings are inherent in the antiwar movement in Israel. The problem of uniting all antiwar groups and organizations remains one of the most urgent problems of this movement. The lack of precise political programs, a weak organizational structure, and spontaneity and inconsistency in actions are characteristic of many antiwar organizations. All this has complicated the process of consolidating the country's peace-loving forces in the last elections to the Knesset, in July 1985; these elections attested to the strengthened positions of extreme right and ultranationalistic parties and groupings. Nonetheless, despite the opposition

of Zionist circles, the Israeli Communist Party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality managed to maintain their positions and take (as in the previous 1981 elections) fourth place in the Knesset. Today the task of expanding and uniting the antiwar movements into a unified front remains the most urgent task for them.

FOOTNOTE

1. The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality was organized during the 1977 elections to the Knesset. For the first time in the country's history, democratic forces led by the Communist Party managed to unite on the basis of a general election platform. In addition to the Israeli Communist Party, members of the Front included representatives of the "Black Panther" organization, heads and members of local and municipal councils, leaders of the Association of Arab Students, members of the Friends' Initiative Committee, and certain social figures.

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INTERNATIONAL

GHANA'S DEVELOPMENT UNDER RAWLINGS' LEADERSHIP PRAISED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 17-20

[Article by Yu. Savitskiy under the rubric "Countries. People. Times":
"Three Years of Transformations"]

[Excerpts] One of this year's most remarkable events in Ghana was the powerful antiwar demonstration which took place in late August in the capital of this West African state. More than 5,000 activists of the Ghanaian Peace and Solidarity Council, the National Organizational Commission on Youth Affairs, the Congress of Ghana Trade Unions, and other progressive organizations walked through the streets of Accra shouting: "Peace -- Yes, War -- No!" and "We Will Not Permit Nuclear Missile War!"

"This manifestation is a completely natural phenomenon which reflects the antiwar, antiimperialist orientation of Ghana's foreign policy course declared 3 years ago after the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) headed by Jerry Rawlings came into power," says Victor Agadzi, the president of the Ghanaian Peace and Solidarity Council. During a recent visit to Nicaragua, PNDC chairman J. Rawlings confirmed the steadiness of this course and, along with the coordinator of the Nicaraguan government, Daniel Ortega, signed a communique in which both leaders spoke out against the aggressive policy of American imperialism which has created a threat to the peace and security of peoples. Ghana unconditionally favors stopping the arms race and preventing a nuclear holocaust.

At the time the government of Ghana firmly condemned the American military's criminal attack on Grenada. It favors granting independence to Namibia immediately and eliminating the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa and demonstrates solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab Palestinian people. Ghana's present leaders are doing a great deal to develop friendly relations with neighboring African countries, especially Burkina Faso. They put a high value on Ghana's relations with the USSR and other socialist states and express the hope that its fruitful cooperation with them will henceforth be developed and strengthened on the basis of mutual respect and trust.

Soviet-Ghanaian relations have fine traditions, the start of which was laid back in K. Nkrumah's time. A number of national economic projects were built in Ghana with the technical assistance of the USSR. But the Soviet people's

contribution to training the national cadres of this West African state is especially great. Cultural, sports, and other ties are being successfully developed between the Soviet Union and Ghana. "Our countries have a great deal in common in foreign policy," says Ebow Tawiah, PNDC member. "The Ghanaian and Soviet peoples fight together for peace and detente and to prevent nuclear missile war and against imperialism, neocolonialism, and racism. Like the Soviet people, we support national liberation movements."

The progressive foreign policy course of the PNDC is conducted concurrently with socioeconomic measures in the interests of the popular masses. The slogan proclaimed by the PNDC -- "Power to the People" -- has not remained empty words: most of the people's revolutionary defense committees (PRDC) created throughout the country have become genuine cells of people's political power. In fighting the arbitrary rule of the exploiter minority, PRDC activists watch the distribution of agricultural equipment, cement, roofing materials, and consumer goods to see that it is fair. They have become an important force in the fight against speculators, smugglers, bribe takers, and other antisocial elements. In rural areas the PRDC's mobilize the population to build and repair roads, hospitals, and schools, develop virgin and abandoned lands, and restore plantations for cocoa and other agricultural crops which died in the last year because of fierce drought and fires.

Without substituting for the organs of power, PRDC activists help expose proteges of former mercenary regimes, saboteurs, or simply idlers in the state apparatus. They actively call for revision of the conditions of the fuzzy agreements imposed on Ghana by multinational corporations under former pro-West regimes. This happened, for one, in November 1982 when the republic's government paid heed to PRDC opinion and nationalized the Ghana Textiles Printing factory owned by the Anglo-Dutch United Africa Company. Then it was precisely PRDC activists who exposed the arbitrary behavior of the factory administration and led the workers' struggle for their rights. That is how it was last year at the Cadbury Ghana Limited factory, a branch of Cadbury-Schwepps company controlled by British capital. Headed by PRDC activists, the workers occupied the production areas of the factory and demanded that the administration's abuses stop, especially illegal firings. It was precisely because of the resolution and support of the Ghana government that the arbitrary rule of the Cadbury Ghana Limited leadership was checked.

In saluting the initiative of the PRDC, the government newspaper PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC notes that this initiative is necessary in order to more rapidly eliminate elements of the socioeconomic structure established by the colonizers. Revolution presupposes the activism of the workers; it is simply hopeless without it, the newspaper emphasizes.

The fact that the PNDC inherited a burdensome legacy, especially in the economic sphere, is having a fundamental effect on the present state of affairs in Ghana. Although Ghana was the first independent state in Tropical Africa, and then, under the leadership of the first president of the republic, Kwame Nkrumah, achieved significant successes in building the foundations of its national economy, everything changed for the worse after the CIA-inspired coup d'etat in 1966, during which K. Nkrumah was removed from power. The leaders of the reactionary pro-West regimes which then replaced each other

were primarily concerned with personal enrichment and maintaining the interests of neocolonizers to whom Ghana's economy was essentially sold out. Industrial enterprises and agricultural development projects completed and not finished under K. Nkrumah were abandoned or transferred to the private sector. The gathering of cocoa beans and gold and diamond mining, which formerly had given substantial income to the Ghanaian state, were steadily curtailed. At the same time prices and unemployment rose at an unrestrained rate and the standard of living of the popular masses was constantly declining. The situation has been aggravated by the fact that a million Ghanaians have been repatriated from Nigeria into the country in recent years. The new leaders are being forced to overcome many serious difficulties arising from the intrigues of imperialism and internal reaction.

Patriotically inclined soldiers led by Air Force Captain Jerry Rawlings, who took power in Ghana on 31 December 1981, were forced to take measures to prevent the complete bankruptcy of the country's economy. Above all they began trying to reduce state expenditures and gradually convert Ghana to supplying its own food. The country's new leaders managed to achieve some progress on this path.

A program to restore and develop the Ghanaian economy was promulgated on 21 April 1983. Today the government's and people's efforts are aimed at preparing the economic, social, and political conditions needed to fulfill the three-year development plan, and measures aimed at increasing the production of agricultural and industrial output and raw materials are being taken. It is proposed to expand production of consumer goods, improve their distribution system, and reduce the inflation level by carrying out measures to promote, among others, trade efficiency and the tax collection system. At the same time everything possible is being done to refine the infrastructure. Ghana's budget is hereafter being formulated with consideration for possible reduction of the traditionally high deficit. Bank branches which are required to play a more active role in developing agriculture, the basis of the Ghanaian economy, are being opened in rural areas.

In developing the country's economy, the present government is counting chiefly on its own resources; nonetheless, it does not reject enlisting foreign capital if its investment does no harm to the interests of the state.

Equally complicated challenges are being met in the work to restore and develop Ghanaian industry. The general economic decline had a bad effect on the production base, which was strongly dependent on the West's economy. A chronic shortage of foreign currency to acquire semifinished products, equipment, and spare parts led to a substantial decline in the production of industrial output in the country. In 1983, for example, many plants and factories used only 10 percent of their capacities. The government allocated capital to update and repair industrial equipment and it is taking steps to strengthen the raw materials base, in particular promoting intensive cultivation of cotton, ambary, peanuts, and sugar cane and deliveries of wood for wood processing enterprises. The results of the measures adopted will not be felt as quickly as one might wish, of course, but, according to Ghanaian government data, by the end of the present year more than 50 percent of the production capacities of industrial enterprises will already be in use. And

the plant to produce tires in the city of Bonsa (Western Region) which is under reconstruction with the technical assistance of India will increase production by 40 percent by that time. At present there are few of these examples, but everything possible is being done to increase their number.

"The development of the Ghanaian economy will also curb our dependence on the West for processing the country's natural resources," said Dabuo Deri, a tunneling instructor with whom I spoke at the cutting face of one of the mines to extract gold-bearing ore in the city of Tarkwa (Western Region). "You have probably noticed that our mining equipment is British-produced. Naturally we cannot replace it rapidly. And this is one of the reasons that up to this point the government of Ghana has not broken the contract imposed on it in 1969 which allows the the LONRO corporation controlled by British capital to make fabulous profits from exploiting the 'richest square mile in Africa,' in Obuasi (Ashanti Region) where the richest gold deposit is located."

The Ghana government allocated 84 million dollars to develop the mining industry, but that is clearly not enough to enable this sector to meet its assignments.

But after all, so much was done to insure that, as a result of "fundamental changes," precisely such a junta would rule Ghana! It is enough to recall that in just the first six months of the PNDC's stay in power, there were four attempted coups d'etat. And last year it reached a point where the Ghanaian authorities accused not only CIA agents but also U.S. ambassador T. Smith of subversive activities against the PNDC. Ultimately both Smith and many associates of the American spy department were forced to leave Ghana. A new ambassador appeared in Accra and the working methods of CIA agents also changed. Judging from everything, they believe that their main ally in the battle against the PNDC must be the economic problems which Ghana has come up against.

Nonetheless, the people of the country are continually standing in defense of the progressive transformations being carried out by the Provisional National Defense Council.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

DEVELOPING STATES' ROLE IN WORLD RAW MATERIAL ECONOMY VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 35-38

[Article by G. Shirokov, doctor of economic sciences, under the rubric "Economist's Forum": "The Developing Countries and the Capitalist Raw Material Economy"]

[Excerpts] As is well known, a decline in the role of raw material commodities in the production process is a law of the development of social production forces. This decline is achieved by lowering materials and energy intensiveness, using raw materials comprehensively, and so on. At the same time the part of the cost of finished output which is added by processing steadily increases. In these conditions progress takes place more slowly in the raw material sectors of the economy: the average annual rate of development of agrarian-raw material sectors was 2.9 percent in 1948-1981 and of the processing industry -- 5.7 percent. The relative decline in the role of raw material commodities in world production was also reflected in world trade indicators (see Table 1).

Table 1. Share of Raw Material Commodities in World Capitalist Trade (in percentages)

Year	Foodstuffs	Raw Materials	Fuel
1953	23.5	18.7	10.1
1960	17.8	16.3	9.8
1965	16.5	12.9	9.6
1970	13.4	11.3	9.3
1975	12.1	8.0	19.5
1981	10.2	7.1	24.2

Inasmuch as the table is composed on the basis of cost indicators, the following explanation is necessary.

During the 1950's-1960's, prices for raw material commodities increased much more slowly than prices for finished articles. Therefore, their reduced share in world trade was not only a reaction to real processes taking place in the production and consumption sphere, but also to the dynamics of prices. In the

1970's prices for foodstuffs and raw materials rose slightly relative to finished articles (this checked the decline in their share in world trade); nonetheless, they remained extremely unstable. But the sharp rise in prices for fuel, especially petroleum, which distorted all cost proportions in world commodity exchange, led to a further decline in the share of raw material commodities.

On the whole, despite sharply increased prices for fuel, the share of raw material commodities in world trade declined from 52.3 percent to 41.5 percent in 1953-1981, and the processes of decline in the share of raw material commodities by no means had equal impact on particular groups of countries -- the developing and developed capitalist countries (see Table 2).

Table2. Share of Developing Countries (DC) and Developed Capitalist Countries (DCC) in World Raw Materials Trade (in percentages)

Year	Foodstuffs		Raw Materials		Fuel	
	DC	DCC	DC	DCC	DC	DCC
1953	11.1	12.4	8.7	10.0	6.3	3.7
1960	7.2	10.6	6.3	9.9	6.9	2.9
1965	5.9	10.6	4.6	8.3	7.0	2.6
1970	4.7	8.7	3.9	7.4	6.6	2.7
1975	3.8	8.4	2.6	5.4	15.8	3.7
1981	2.8	6.7	2.0	4.2	16.8	4.9

Consequently, with the general decline in the share of foodstuffs in world trade, the developing countries' share declined to ten thirty-ninths of its previous level while the share of developed capitalist countries declined to five-ninths of its previous level; the share of mineral and plant raw materials declined to ten forty-thirds of its previous level in developing countries and to five-twelfths of its previous level in developed capitalist countries; and the share of fuel delivered by developing countries increased by a factor of 2.7 and by developed capitalist countries by a factor of 1.3. As a result, the proportion of foodstuffs supplied from developing countries declined from 47.2 percent to 27.4 percent during the period in question; the proportion of raw materials -- from 46.5 percent to 28.8 percent; and the proportion of fuel increased from 62.4 percent to 69.3 percent. But the share of the developed capitalist countries increased for all three indicators.

Because of the erratic dynamics in the sale of certain groups of commodities, the structure of the raw material trade of the developing countries underwent fundamental changes. While in 1953 their most important export item was foodstuffs (42.5 percent), in 1981 the proportion of foodstuffs had declined to 10 percent. At the same time the share of fuel rose from 24.2 percent to 60.5 percent. Mineral and plant raw materials fell from second to third place by proportion (from 33.3 percent to 7.3 percent). In this way, the export of the developing countries acquired a clearly expressed "fuel" character and a

comparatively small group of OPEC member countries accounted for most of it (more than two-thirds).

Inasmuch as the substantial changes characteristic of the developing countries' present situation on world raw material markets were the result of processes which occurred in the production and circulation spheres, they require a more detailed analysis. We will examine a number of problems related to the most important export items of developing countries. We will begin with the export of foodstuffs.

On the whole in 1950-1981, the volume of agricultural production in developing countries rose by a factor of 2.5 and in developed capitalist countries by a factor of 1.9; that is, the average annual growth rates were 2.5 percent and 2.0 percent, respectively. Nonetheless, because of differing natural population growth rates, the increase in production per capita as compared to the prewar period totaled 4 percent in the developing countries and 35 percent in developed capitalist countries. And the formation of sectors with contemporary production forces and the intensification of the trend toward uneven income distribution caused a growing demand for foodstuffs in the developing countries. The increased disproportions between production and consumption could only be covered by imports.

Imports of cheap foodstuffs in developing countries decreased their expenditures for variable capital, lowering prices and accelerating the economy's structural reorganization. But at the same time these imports had a depressive effect on grain production, which became unprofitable at this price level. This led to an extremely slow increase in grain production and expanded grain imports. However, more favorable prices helped shift part of the agricultural economy to the production of export crops -- oil crops, fruits, tobacco, and others.

Since the mid-1970's the governments of many young states have begun to change their strategy for the development of agriculture. As a rule the new strategy envisions focusing efforts on self-sufficiency in food, above all grain, even by reducing export surpluses. Although under deteriorating trade conditions this policy can reduce the losses of developing countries on the world market, slightly raise the consumption level among the broad popular masses, and the like; it still cannot solve the food problem as a whole. The point is that the policy of "import replacement" is primarily aimed at eliminating a quantitative disproportion. However, a rapidly increasing qualitative food disproportion is characteristic of all developing countries, especially petroleum exporters and "newly industrialized countries." This means that imports of foodstuffs by the developing world will increase, although the list of imports and its material-physical structure will undergo further changes.

Furthermore, converting to an import replacement strategy of agricultural development means limiting potential export opportunities. And a distinct trend to concentrate export food surpluses in a small group of countries with the most favorable natural climate conditions had already appeared in the 1970's. In fact, in the 1970's alone, the group of countries which were the larger exporters of foodstuffs declined from 23 to 15, while the share of foodstuffs they supplied to the world market declined from 66.1 percent to

59.8 percent; that is, while the number of leading exporting countries declined by 35 percent, their share in supplies declined by only 10 percent. This reflected the trend toward increased concentration of exports.

According to the prognosis of the UNCTAD secretariat, the demand for oil crops and tobacco supplied by the developing world will increase in the developed capitalist countries in the 1980's. Nonetheless, because of reduced demand for foodstuffs of the moderate zone and practical stagnation of demand for foodstuffs of the tropical zone, the export volume of the developing countries will remain relatively stable. Inasmuch as there is no reason to expect changes in these trends in the foreseeable future, a reduction in the credit balance in the trade of developing countries in foodstuffs is possible. Obviously, an increase in the balance under present conditions is directly dependent on expanded trade between developing and socialist countries.

In addition to a relative decline in the demand for basic necessities, the situation has also changed because of the appearance of synthetic substitutes for natural raw materials. Thus, natural dyes, tannin, resins, and so on have been practically eliminated from industrial use. Therefore, just three commodities -- wood, cotton, and natural rubber -- comprise four-fifths of the export value which these commodity groups of the developing countries account for. Nonetheless, they are also subject to the onslaught of substitutes.

According to calculations of the UNCTAD secretariat, in the 1980's exports of agricultural raw materials from developing countries to developed capitalist countries will decrease by 0.83 percent per year. This is a result of two factors: expanded agricultural production in developed capitalist countries (in the 1960's-1970's an absolute decline in imports of cotton, wool, and other types of raw materials was observed); and the lowered export quota for this commodity group in the production of developing countries.

More complex processes have accompanied production and trade in mineral raw materials. In the first place, the predominant position of developed capitalist countries in world production of nonfuel resources was also responsible for their predominant role in the export of these commodities. Secondly, with the increased production of mineral resources in developing countries, their domestic processing and use increased. Therefore, export resources of the developing countries have even decreased for some commodities. As a result, their share in world exports of nonfuel minerals declined from 33 percent in 1955 to 30.4 percent in 1973. Obviously, the unfavorable trade conditions characteristic of the exports of developing countries in the 1960's and early 1970's also played a certain role in the decline. Thirdly, socialist countries markedly stepped up their trade in nonfuel resources; their share in the exports of these commodities rose from 14.4 percent to 18.9 percent in this period. Finally, increased consumption of petroleum and higher prices for it at a time when both these indicators were more stable relative to nonfuel resources led to a marked decline in the proportion of the value of other mineral resources in the trade of developing countries -- from 16.1 percent in 1955 to 9.4 percent in 1973.

Calculations based on physical indicators show that in 1950-1973 self-sufficiency in petroleum supplies fell sharply in developed capitalist

countries (from three-fourths to one-third) as did self-sufficiency in natural gas supplies. As far as nonfuel mineral resources are concerned, the dependence of these countries on imports of iron ore increased (by 29.1 percent) and on imports of nickel (by 9.2 percent). More contradictory processes took place in the import of copper, zinc, and chromium ores and bauxite. While a decline in the self-sufficiency of developed capitalist countries was observed in these types of resources in the 1950's, it began to increase in the second half of the 1960's but had not reached its initial level by 1973. At the same time, however, self-sufficiency in manganese, lead, and tin ores increased. Nevertheless, the level of dependence on imports for bauxite and copper ores and especially tin remained very high.

With the developing countries proclaiming their sovereignty over natural resources as well as the fuel-energy crisis in the capitalist raw material economy, serious changes occurred. Most imperialist states worked out a fuel-raw material policy which envisioned carrying out measures aimed at conserving fuel and raw materials, transferring material and energy intensive production facilities to developing countries, and intensifying development of fuel-mineral resource production within the capitalist world as a whole.

With the proclamation of sovereignty over natural resources, the level of political risk for raw material monopolies in developing countries rose. A trend to reduce profit norms in raw material sectors was also revealed. At the same time, however, increased prices for petroleum, gas, and certain other minerals stimulated the working of deposits which had very high production costs. Because of this, two new directions in the activities of international monopolies were observed. In the first place, the extraction of mineral raw materials was expanded to formerly undeveloped regions of Northern Europe and Alaska, Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and the shelf zones of developed capitalist countries. As a result, the developed capitalist countries' proportion in world production of petroleum, gas, titanium, chromium, uranium, iron ore, bauxite, and so on increased markedly. Moreover, the rate of growth of mineral production began to overtake the consumption rate. As a result, the developed capitalist countries' level of self-sufficiency in the basic mineral resources (excluding copper ore) increased in 1974-1981. Nonetheless, the need for petroleum remained very high. In 1974-1981 self-sufficiency in petroleum increased from 36.6 percent to only 42.2 percent. The direction of trade flows of mineral resources also changed: in 1975-1981 the share of mutual supplies of fuel in the imports of developed capitalist countries rose from 20.2 percent to 22.9 percent, and of other mineral resources -- from 59.6 percent to 62.4 percent.

On the whole, developed capitalist countries managed to slightly lessen their dependence on developing countries in the food-raw material sphere by developing their own agrarian-raw material sectors and reorienting trade flows. In 1970-1981 the developing countries' share in imports of foodstuffs by developed countries decreased from 32.7 percent to 27.0 percent; raw materials from 29.1 percent to 26.4 percent; and in the imports of fuel in 1975-1981 -- from 73.7 percent to 69.4 percent.

Taking into account the unfavorable prospects for exporting raw materials and foodstuffs to developed capitalist countries already mentioned, it can be

assumed that expanded trade between developing countries and the socialist community will be an important method for increasing exports of food and raw material commodities by liberated countries.

When evaluating these different phenomena, it must be taken into account that the increased self-sufficiency of developed capitalist countries which took place in the 1970's does not eliminate their dependence on supplies from developing countries. Moreover, eliminating this dependence would obviously not be in the long-term interests of imperialism. But the goal of increasing self-sufficiency is to convert it into a powerful lever of pressure on young states to insure optimal conditions for obtaining raw material resources. The scientific-technical revolution is stimulating the process of replacing raw materials imported to developed capitalist countries with imports of semifinished products or finished articles. But under capitalism this process cannot help but be extremely contradictory. On the one hand, the economies of developing countries are as yet not fully prepared to switch from exporting raw materials to exporting semifinished products and finished articles -- in order to do this, many conditions must be met, above all enormous capital investments, technical know-how, and qualified personnel. On the other hand, the pressure of the bourgeoisie, whose interests are focused in the traditional sectors of industry, as well as increased unemployment and social tension force the governments of developed capitalist countries to limit imports of semifinished and finished articles from developing countries.

In these conditions the process of reorganizing the capitalist raw material economy is protracted and irregular.

FOOTNOTE

1. In 1975 this includes the Republic of South Africa; in 1981 it does not.

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CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

NEW SYSTEM NOT SEEN ANSWERING PRC 20-YEAR FARMING PROBLEMS

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 pp 40-43

[Article by V. Kurbatov, candidate of economic sciences, under the rubric "Reviews, Information": "China: The Problems of Agriculture"]

[Text] According to data of the latest census (1982), about 80 percent of the country's population live in the Chinese countryside while more than 70 percent of the entire gainfully-employed population is engaged in various sectors of agricultural production. Agriculture supplies almost half of all budget revenue and more than 70 percent of the raw materials for light industry. Up to 70 percent of Chinese exports are directly or indirectly related to it. Many of the statements by Chinese leaders emphasize that agriculture is the basis of the national economy, and the development of the country's entire economy and the standard of living of its people depend on the condition of agriculture.

However, agriculture of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been in an extremely disastrous condition for a long time. How did this happen?

In the first years after the victory of the people's revolution, the Chinese Communist Party devoted a great deal of effort and attention to solving urgent agrarian problems. Land reform where land ownership by landlords was abolished was carried out and the land under cultivation (about 11 percent of the territory of the PRC) was given to the peasants. From a formal standpoint, a system of small peasant private ownership of land was established in the country with all its inherent features and weaknesses.

Immediately after the agrarian reform, various forms of labor cooperation based on the principles of voluntary participation and mutual benefit began to spread in the countryside. The peasantry took heart; its labor enthusiasm and initiative graphically attest to this. The state allocated substantial capital and mobilized the peasant masses to repair old and build new irrigation systems and structures; this enabled the damages from natural disasters to be greatly reduced. New agricultural equipment, more productive agricultural tools, and modern methods of controlling plant and animal pests and diseases began to be introduced in agricultural production. All this insured the comparatively rapid development of agriculture; it seemed it was confidently and reliably on its feet.

Nonetheless, in the second half of 1955, an experiment to sharply boost cooperative principles in the countryside was launched. Such basic principles of agrarian policy as voluntary participation, gradualness, and mutual benefit were discarded altogether; in some 18 months all the many millions of peasants were united into agricultural producers' cooperatives (SKhPK) of the highest (socialist) type. Inasmuch as the conditions for this had not been prepared, the mass creation of cooperatives gave rise to a number of difficulties and problems. The party was faced with patient, persistent, and protracted work to strengthen the new form of management in the countryside and on socialist indoctrination of the peasantry. The countryside needed a great deal of help from the state and the working class. Instead, an attempt was again made to solve all problems at one stroke through a new "transformation of production relations in agriculture."

Beginning in the summer of 1958 and continuing for several months, 740,000 SKhPK's were transformed into 24,000 rural people's communes (RPC) which began to fulfill the functions of lower organs of power and economic organizations simultaneously. It was assumed that the people's communes would accelerate the rate of socialist construction and serve as a suitable form for comparatively rapid (3-6 years) transformation of the peasants' collective property, including land, into state, public property. The 29 August 1958 decision of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee on creating people's communes in the countryside pointed out that the "people's commune is the best organizational form for the gradual conversion from socialism to communism and in its development it will be the basic unit of the future communist society."

The creation of the people's communes was accompanied by the collectivization of all means of production, and the peasants' private plots and auxiliary operations were practically eliminated. The principle of material incentive was consigned to oblivion; the RPC's rejected payment according to labor and switched to equalized distribution. As the Chinese press now states bitterly, an "obsession with collectivizing everything," the idea that "everyone must eat from one common kettle" won out. Primitive peasant egalitarianism was one of the basic concepts in Mao Zedong's ideas and he persistently followed it.

This "epidemic of communization" was a component part of the "Great Leap Forward" -- a completely unjustified attempt to sharply increase the rate of economic development in all sectors of the national economy. As a result, a colossal squandering of the live and embodied labor of the Chinese people took place, and the principles of material incentive and planned economic development were basically undermined. The "Great Leap Forward" provoked a serious crisis for the entire national economy and checked the economic development of the PRC for a number of years. The entire agrarian sector was in extremely serious condition and famine struck the country in 1960.

It was necessary to fundamentally restructure the communes in order to restore agriculture. Organizationally they were divided into production brigades, which in the overwhelming majority of cases became the basic economic and cost-accounting unit. In its production activity, the commune began to return to those principles on which the higher SKhPK's were based: the principles of material incentive and distribution by labor were partially restored. The

peasants' private plots appeared once again, although in a substantially abridged form.

By the mid-1960's, the condition of China's economy had gradually been normalized and opportunities for further progress had been created. In 1966 the country was prepared to begin fulfilling the third five-year plan. But it was in this year that the "cultural revolution" broke out; it thrust the PRC into chaos and was a terrible disaster in the lives of the Chinese people.

Leveling trends once again prevailed in the villages, attacks and restrictions on the peasants' private plots began, and a so-called "chopping off of capitalist tails" was carried out. In some places, "in order to level incomes," fruit trees belonging to the peasants were destroyed, private enterprise was prohibited, the numbers of small livestock and poultry were strictly limited, and markets were closed. All attention was focused on grain production; as a result, agriculture in some regions came to be based on one crop. The production of cotton, bast-fiber crops, oil crops, and sugar plants was retarded and in some places curtailed because some of the leaders at that time thought that cultivation of industrial crops "could nurture capitalism."

Realization of the slogan "Grain Is the Main Element" and the directive of every administrative unit to be self-sufficient in food did enormous damage to all sectors of agriculture: forests were cut down or burned in order to free land for crops and pastures, mountain slopes and lands unsuitable for cultivating grain were plowed up, and the shallow parts of many lakes were drained and converted into fields. The peasants were called to act in accordance with the slogan: "Sow grain to the mountain peak, sow grain to the heart of the lake!"

These practices led to serious ecological consequences. Since 1977 Chinese newspapers and journals have been sounding the alarm over the impoverishment of the country's natural wealth and the destruction of entire natural complexes. As the journal JINGJI YANJUI and the newspaper GUANGMING RIBAO, among others, have noted, clearing the forests sharply disturbed the climate, temperature, and hydrological conditions of broad territories and promoted a sharp increase in the power of winds, wind erosion of soil, and sand drifting. Plowing mountain slopes combined with destroying forests caused the swift development of soil erosion which engulfed the entire country "from the province of Guangdong in the south to the province of Heilongjiang in the north." The Chinese press reported that an area of 150 million hectares was afflicted by erosion; this included extensive areas of tillable land.

Plowing steppe pasture lands undermined the animal husbandry feed base and led to the degradation of extensive steppe areas. Encroaching on lakes reduced fish reserves and did a great deal of harm, at times unjustifiable, to water-related enterprises. And although the gross yield of grain increased, its production per capita remained the same and even declined in places (in the province of Sichuan, for example). Solving the food problem using such methods was, needless to say, impossible.

As articles in the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, among others, confirm, the fact that in a time of rapid population growth the area under cultivation in the

country is being systematically reduced arouses special concern among the leadership and the public of the PRC. Almost 112 million hectares were under the plow in 1957, while less than 100 million hectares were in 1977. Yet more than 21 million hectares of new lands were incorporated during this period; in other words, the total losses of long plowed lands exceeded 33 million hectares. Inasmuch as the main areas of virgin soil are located in the border regions of China with unfavorable climatic and soil conditions, bringing them into economic circulation by no means compensates for the losses of tillable areas in the country's traditional farming areas. The reduction of plowed land is explained both by processes caused by people's improper economic activities (erosion, salinization, drifting sand, and others) and by the loss of land to construction (industrial, residential, road, and irrigation construction).

Improper forms of organization of labor and methods of managing collective farming had a serious effect on the condition of agriculture. As the Chinese publicist Wang Fenglin wrote, all the experience of the rural people's communes confirms the falseness of "one of the main principles upon which their activity is based -- combining the functions of lower organs of power and of organizations for economic management of the cooperative sector in the countryside." With the creation of rural people's communes, "the state organs got the opportunity to manage them by order and this led to the spread of voluntarist administrative methods in agriculture."

Wang Fenglin noted that the administrative character of people's communes allowed the state organs to arbitrarily withdraw production capital and output from agriculture. In many places insuring the functioning of the health care system, education, transport, and the like, which was initially carried out by the state, was transferred to the shoulders of the communes. What happened was "hands outstretched to production brigades from all sides; from above, from below, from the right, and from the left; they are undermining the foundations of production brigades." "How can the production brigades and commune members fail to be impoverished!" exclaims the author.

The wage leveling which existed in the collectives fundamentally undermined the peasantry's labor activism. Whether every individual commune member contributed a great deal or very little to production -- this actually did not mean a thing during distribution. It is not surprising that with 300 million able-bodied people on 100 million hectares of land under cultivation, agriculture experienced a critical shortage of work force.

After the death of Mao Zedong and the overthrow of the "gang of four," conditions appeared for a new approach to agriculture in the country. In order to fundamentally improve the situation in the agrarian sector, the mechanization of agriculture at a rapid rate was proposed so that approximately 70 percent of the basic production processes were mechanized in 1980. To do this, deliveries of tractors, trucks, various agricultural machines, fuel, and electricity to the countryside were increased. It soon became clear, however, that with the exception of certain regions (the Northeast and Xingjiang), large modern equipment often is not economically justified under the conditions existing in the Chinese countryside. The prime cost of output rose, and even when production volume increased the incomes of

the peasants markedly declined. Moreover, the mechanization of agriculture liberates a large part of the work force, who are of no use either in the countryside or in the city. And if the fact that mechanization also requires enormous amounts of capital is taken into account, it was not difficult to draw the conclusion that the extensive and universal introduction of modern equipment into agricultural production was premature.

The 3rd Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, 11th convocation, took place in December 1978. As the Chinese press writes, this plenum opened a new path of development for agriculture. Since the state was unable to make large capital investments in agriculture, the main emphasis was on restoring the labor activism and initiative of the peasant masses.

Wage leveling and lack of accountability in labor were sharply criticized, the need for payment according to labor began to be persistently pointed out, auxiliary enterprises were allowed and began to be encouraged, private plots were enlarged and where they had been eliminated they were restored, and collective markets were opened. The state raised prices for some agricultural output, reduced taxes to one extent or another, and improved the work on granting credit and on centralized state purchases.

Undoubtedly, all this eased the burden which lay on peasant shoulders but it was not enough to insure an upswing in agriculture. In the 20 odd years which had passed since the mass imposition of cooperative principles in the countryside, the peasantry had lost interest in "their own" production associations and had no desire to work in them.

According to data of the deputy chairman of the PRC State Committee for Agricultural Affairs, Deng Runsheng, things were going well in only one-third of the production brigades in the late 1970's, and the average annual income of a person in them was 120 yuan. This amount insured reproduction of the work force for a year. Another one-third of the brigades were working relatively satisfactorily, and the average annual income for a person fluctuated in them from 60-120 yuan. And, finally, it was less than 60 yuan in the last third of the brigades. The question is, how did they manage? According to reports of the Chinese press, the state gave them some assistance and a certain part of the capital came from work on the side, but rigorous economizing on clothing and food were the main thing. But how could they even think of a labor upsurge when peasants' incomes from agriculture in two-thirds of the brigades did not even cover expenditures to reproduce the work force!

The issue of the fundamental organizational restructuring of the all agricultural production arose on the agenda. It began with the dissemination in agriculture of the so-called system of production accountability which closely correlated production volume with payment according to labor. Beginning in 1979 the collective means of production (land, agricultural implements, livestock) and some economic rights began to be transferred to certain small groups or individuals; at the same time definite production assignments were established for them and when these assignments were fulfilled, they received precisely stipulated remuneration.

In September 1980 the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee disseminated Document No 75 which legalized three forms of production accountability. The use of a small group contract or special contract within the framework of unified management was envisioned in economically developed regions. "Joint production in a unified management system for farming with the introduction of assignments for each toiler" was recommended in regions with average economic conditions. But in poor regions production assignments were to be given to each household or each toiler.

In practice it works like this. A group of peasant farms, a particular peasant household (family), or a peasant can use a plot of land and some inventory. They must produce a certain quantity of output -- food or industrial crops, vegetables, pork, and the like -- on these plots. A stipulated share of the output produced is paid to the state in the form of taxes, another precisely set share is sold to the state in the form of mandatory deliveries, a share of the output or an equivalent sum of money goes to the collective for the savings fund and the social welfare fund, and, finally, the last, precisely established share is left for the producers in payment for labor. But if they have received more output than was envisioned in the contract agreement, the entire surplus is their property and they have the right to do what they will with it.

Three forms of production accountability were initially established, and the third form -- production assignments for households and individual toilers -- was envisioned only for economically backward regions. In a number of articles Chinese authors explained that the universal dissemination of the third form would be inadvisable since the modern countryside has a certain amount of machine equipment, irrigation structures, warehouses, and industrial enterprises available. The advantages of extensive collective production are lost under dispersed management; it is easy to weaken unified cost accounting and unified distribution of the work force; and a danger of private property aspirations appearing to the detriment of the collective sector arises. In general, enough very convincing and weighty arguments against a universal and mass conversion to household contracts had an effect. Life, however, deals with things in its own way.

Since the fall of 1980, the most varied forms of production accountability have arisen in the Chinese countryside; these forms changed and were transformed on the run, as they say. Already in 1981, a mass conversion from assignments for groups to assignments for individual workers while preserving unified management and to assignments for households is noted. This form in turn was transformed into a system of full accountability of the household for production. Such a form as assignments for individual workers while preserving unified management also appears in this system. In October 1981, 38 percent of all the primary cost-accounting units in PRC agriculture had converted to full household accountability for production, and in the spring of 1982 this became the predominant system. As the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO wrote at that time, "the peasant family has essentially become the main production unit, and each family is exclusively responsible for its own profits and losses." In this way, under collective ownership of land in China, the system of small individual land use was reactivated in a large part of its territory.

This created a new situation and new problems in the country. On the one hand, the rise of the peasantry's labor activism insured comparatively rapid development of agricultural production. After 1981 a yearly increase in agricultural output has been observed when weather conditions are fairly good. In 1983 a record grain harvest was gathered (in the Chinese tradition, this included root crops) -- more than 387 million tons, and 4,637,000 tons of cotton fiber was also gathered. Gross grain production per capita rose to 376 kilograms. The peasants' living standard rose. Many of them want just one thing -- that the country's agrarian policy not be changed.

There is also another side, however. Many peasants view separate management within the framework of production associations as a return to a personal system; private ownership sentiments and the desire for personal benefit at the expense of the collective and the society were sharply intensified. Deng Runsheng acknowledges that at first, "the peasants mistakenly understood the system of production accountability as 'separation' only, and equally divided public savings and various inventory to the point that they even divided up public trees and cut them down." But, as the theses of the All-Chinese Conference on Work in the Countryside noted, in 1982 also, "certain commune members" mistakenly considered production assignments by households to be "returning the land to the ownership of the peasants and distributing plots of land among individual farms."

Year after year the central press explains that the land is collective property; it must not be sold, bought, leased, or used for other than its intended purpose; and homes cannot be built on it nor people buried on it. Nonetheless, there are cases throughout China where the peasants sell their plots of land and lease them out, "as if they were their own property."

The state has been forced to make enormous efforts to stabilize the lands planted in grain because the peasants, in pursuit of profit, prefer to plant industrial crops and sell them at market prices. This frequently causes difficulties in supplying the urban population with food products.

Property differentiations have been sharply intensified in the countryside. In economically difficult regions with unfavorable natural conditions, the organizational restructuring of agriculture has given the peasants little, and as before they hardly make ends meet; more than 10 percent of the districts of the People's Republic of China are located in those regions. In other places the difference in incomes of peasant families is very substantial, and this causes new tension in the countryside. Families with many able-bodied members who are knowledgeable and skilled flourish. It is precisely they who build new houses and buy machinery to process agricultural output, motor boats, trucks, and tractors. In late 1983, according to official data, Chinese peasants had bought more than 2 million tractors (more than half the tractor fleet of people's communes) with their own capital. But as for those families who lacked enough working hands, it was even difficult for them to fulfill the state deliveries.

The attitude toward the new agrarian policy in China is far from unanimous. There are differences of opinion in the higher echelons of power as well. The

emergence of hired labor in the countryside and resistance to the policy of population control arouses serious concern among some leaders. The more working hands in the family, the easier it is for it to become prosperous, and peasants aspire to have more sons. The introduction of the contract system revealed the presence of enormous surpluses of work force in many provinces; this was formerly masked by the system of joint labor. The rational use of this work force has now become one of the most complex economic and social problems. And the situation can become even more complicated in the near future. In January 1984 the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee disseminated Document No 1. It envisioned "the extension of the land contract term to 15 years and more," as well as encouraging "the gradual concentration of land in the hands of skilled farmers" in order to utilize the land better. Consequently, the process of forcing out excess work force from the farming sphere will inevitably be intensified.

Many authors in the PRC try to answer the question of how the Chinese countryside will move further ahead. As a rule, they understand that individual land use is a limited and only temporarily effective way. Even now problems are arising of how to combine the division of land with a unified irrigation system and how to conduct capital field-crop cultivation construction and protect the environment. Small land use does not promote effective use of large agricultural equipment, improve methods of controlling plant pests and diseases, promote the scientific working of land, create the necessary collective savings, or help plan agricultural production; it can in reality lead to the transformation of farms managed by the collective into private farms.

Some authors place their hopes on the emergence in the countryside of new economic associations which are based on complete voluntary participation and which meet the needs of production development. In some places the seeds of these collective organizations are actually appearing, but they still must prove their viability. It can be suggested that China's agriculture will return to the path of the production association; nonetheless, at the present time it is difficult to predict when and in what forms this will occur.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON USE OF DIPLOMACY AGAINST NEOCOLONIALISM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 p 59

[Review by Vl. Li, doctor of historical sciences, of book "OON i strany sotsializma" [The U.N. and the Countries of Socialism] by S.D. Voytovich, publisher not given, Minsk, 1983, number of copies not given, 270 pages]

[Text] In the multileveled battle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and reaction, the "diplomatic front," where political battles of great international importance frequently take shape, occupies an important place. After all, it is precisely in this sphere of international relations that antiimperialist actions of strategic scope which determine the main direction of national-liberation revolutions for many years arise. The monograph of the doctor of historical sciences, Professor S.D. Voytovich tells about the organic interweaving of diplomacy and politics.

An extremely rich chronicle of the difficult struggle of the diplomacy of the socialist community to preserve and consolidate universal peace is central to the book under review. Nor is peace by any means an abstract problem for the peoples of developing countries. The entire history of colonialism is a chronicle of killing, the deaths of millions and millions of people. And when the "historical roots" of the age-old socioeconomic backwardness of the peoples of the East as compared to the countries of the West is spoken of, it must be kept in mind that they are primarily related to the colonial powers' mass genocide of oppressed peoples.

On the basis of a rich and diverse study of sources, S.D. Voytovich reveals in this connection the social duplicity which is shown in Western imperialist circles' attitude toward human rights. The author justifiably notes that the causes of almost all the Pentagon's neocolonial wars in the zone of national-liberation movements are to a significant extent rooted in the domestic policy of the United States itself, where about 22 million Negroes, 11 million Latin Americans, and many millions of immigrants from Asia and other "colored" regions are being subjected to racist-chauvinist exploitation (p 5). Each time the United States sends its chastizers to the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Washington unleashes extensive ideological campaigns focused on the "Soviet threat" or the "intrigues of international communism." The voices of bourgeois political scientists who argue that aggressive wars

are in no way related to the social system but generated by "the imperfection of human nature" also intensify the chorus of official propaganda (p 7).

The relentless and consistent exposure of the real causes and moving forces of predatory wars is the main direction of the activity of socialist diplomacy in the international arena. As the book under review convincingly shows, this noble mission has been receiving increasingly more extensive and active support from the overwhelming majority of unaligned states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The author reveals the unstoppable advance of the forces of progress against the bastions of world reaction in its historical dynamics. Until roughly the mid-1960's diplomatic battles in the U.N. were in many respects complicated by the unfavorable alignment of forces in this international organization which enabled the Western powers to take active advantage of the so-called voting mechanism. Nonetheless, by the early 1960's Western diplomacy had already been forced to take the position of "blind defense," which made it possible to carry the historical Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples through the U.N. "This was an enormous political and diplomatic success for the Soviet Union and for all anticolonial forces and reflected the demand of the times," the author justifiably notes. "The adoption of the Declaration helped consolidate the international political and legal base of the national-liberation movement" (p 222).

The West's calculations that the Declaration would remain nothing but a "paper creation" devoid of international-legal force were unjustified. At the insistence of the socialist and developing states, a special U.N. Committee on Decolonization (the Committee of 24) was created and charged with searching for practical ways to implement the provisions of the Declaration to the point of establishing specific dates for eliminating certain colonial administrations. As a result, in just the first two decades after the Declaration was adopted, countries and territories with a total population of more than 150 million people were on the way to sovereign development (p 230).

The author of the book justifiably emphasizes that in our day the struggle of the world antiimperialist forces for decolonization is primarily concentrated in southern Africa, to which the Western powers, and above all the United States, devote a special place in their global strategy. About 300 branches of American monopolies alone operate in this region, which is extremely rich in mineral-raw material resources. With no regard for the will and demands of international public opinion, Washington continues to arm the South African racists: about 37 percent of all the weapons of the Republic of South Africa are marked "Made in the USA." About 85 percent of those people in the foreign legion -- where the most highly trained "masters" of terror serve -- are of American origin (p 248). With the direct military-political support of the West, the Republic of South Africa is following a course to increase its dominion in Namibia. The partnership of the imperialist powers and Pretoria to impose neocolonial domination on Namibia is determined by their common goal -- "to keep it as a raw materials adjunct of the capitalist countries and a possession of the Republic of South Africa and to create a buffer between Pretoria and independent African states in the interests of the racists and of imperialism" (p 283).

The research know-how of a specialist on the history of international relations and an expert on contemporary international law are very successfully combined in V.D. Voytovich's solid scientific work. Nonetheless, the monograph is not free of some inadequately developed and debatable opinions. Thus, one can hardly agree with the author's thesis on the existence of a certain "neocolonial system" of imperialism (p 223) without serious reservations. It appears that the author here means not a "system," but rather those elements of the world capitalist economy and international capitalist division of labor which enable imperialism to commit a glaringly unlawful action -- the cruel exploitation of the peoples of liberated countries. I think that, in conditions of universal decolonization, the steady rise of the forces of socialism, and the historical conversion to a new formation on a global scale, despite all its aggressiveness and expansionism, neocolonialism is in no position to pool its resources into any particular socioeconomic or political "system."

In closing the last pages of Professor S.D. Voytovich's work, which is rich in content and has essentially created a diplomatic chronicle of the anticolonial struggle, one cannot help but rejoice in the steady expansion of the geographical boundaries of research in Oriental studies. Valuable and original works are being published more and more often not only in Moscow, but also in those capitals of national republics where there are branches and departments of the All-Union Association of Orientalists.

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12424

CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

MONOGRAPH ANALYZING AFRICAN NATIONALISM REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 84 p 60

[Review by A. Kiva, doctor of historical sciences, of book "Natsionalizm v sovremennoy Afrike" [Nationalism in Contemporary Africa], collective monograph of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka", 1983, 262 pages]

[Text] The collective monograph of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences is the first work in Soviet African studies to analyze the features of nationalism in contemporary Africa. Its authors have thoroughly studied typology and genesis, the objective and subjective prerequisites of the origin of nationalism, and the uniqueness of its evolution and have revealed the internal and external factors of its transformation.

The particular forms of the manifestation of nationalism in the sociopolitical life of the African countries is subjected to thorough analysis in the monograph: on the country and continental level, in the spheres of economics and culture, in the interaction of nationalism and religion, national-reformism, and the like. In our opinion, the most successful chapters belong to precisely this part of the monograph.

In the theoretical section of the work, in particular in the chapter on the methodological aspects of the study of nationalism in Africa, the conclusion that African nationalism is a unique phenomenon appears to be extremely important. "The appeal to the entire continent rather than to one country or another or to a nation is a specific feature of nationalism in Africa during its formative period (p 15).

The lack of the formation of nations and the existence within the boundaries of certain countries of dozens and even hundreds of peoples who frequently belong to various ethnic and language groups is perhaps the main thing that determined the character of African nationalism.

But continental nationalism, pan-Africanism, is most likely only the first phase of development of African nationalistic ideology. Upon receiving independence African nationalism begins to develop in the direction of the specific national conditions of particular countries and is influenced by these conditions just as it is influenced by things common to all African and other peoples in the sphere of national relations, spiritual life, and even historical destinies. The authors of the monograph believe that ethnic

pluralism will undoubtedly make its imprint, and a very deep one, on the entire further evolution of African nationalism. This apparently will predetermine its special "vitality" and the duration of its existence as a major factor of social life if it is taken into account that national-state consolidation, at least in many of the continent's countries, will not be completed in just one decade. In conditions of the religious pluralism in most of the continent's countries and the low level of literacy and social consciousness, objectively nationalism is practically the only factor for political mobilization of the masses on the country level.

Obviously, continuing exploitation of African countries by transnational corporations, the financial centers of the West, and imperialism on the whole will help preserve the antiimperialist orientation and the historically progressive features of both all-African and country or "local" nationalism for a long period of time yet.

The possible intensification of the reactionary features of African nationalism, in particular "black racism," which can objectively further the deterioration of the economic situation of African countries, and the growth of pauperism and Lumperism, of course cannot be excluded.

I would like to express a few considerations which to some extent are in disagreement with the position of the monograph's authors. Thus, while giving an accurate description of nationalism as a phenomenon which is by no means homogenous but complex and contradictory, taking the demonstration of its social-class essence as a basis, and correctly pointing out a certain arbitrariness in classifying traditional forms of national consciousness as nationalism, at the same time the authors frequently equate nationalism itself as a bourgeois category and, for example, tribalism, which emerged in conditions of the tribal clan society.

Moreover, the assertion is doubtful that it is precisely the intelligentsia -- and exclusively the intelligentsia, without the petty bourgeoisie and without representatives of the middle strata -- which has led the liberation struggle in most African countries. In our opinion, the petty bourgeoisie (which includes the intelligentsia) unquestionably played an important role as the leader of the masses in the struggle for national independence. At the same time, the examples of Kenya, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Senegal, Tunisia, and other African countries attest to the fact that the national bourgeoisie in coalition with both leftist and rightist forces has now taken this role on itself.

But these shortcomings do not on the whole reduce the significance of a work which was done on a good scientific level and which is of interest not only to African specialists and specialists on problems of the national liberation movement but to the broader circle of readers -- practical workers, teachers, lecturers, and propagandists -- as well.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/171

INTERNATIONAL

U. S. ACTIONS SAID TO UNDERMINE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12, 31 Mar-7 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Cand. Sc. (History), senior research associate, Institute of US and Canadian Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences Valery F. Davydov]

[Text]

According to estimates by experts, more than 20 countries have now acquired the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons, and by 2000 there will be 40 such "near-nuclear" states. By 2000 the operation of atomic power plants will produce an amount of plutonium enough to make 30,000 nuclear bombs annually, each with a yield equalling that of the bomb dropped on Nagasaki. The further expansion of the "nuclear club" will undermine international stability to an unpredictable extent and is fraught with the gravest consequences for the security of all countries and regions. An increase in the number of nuclear states would also extremely compound the solution of the nuclear disarmament question.

By the 'less words, more deeds' tactics

More than 120 states have signed the Treaty on the Non Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - the main international-law and political barrier to the spread of the nuclear threat. About 40 states, including two nuclear powers - the PRC and France - still remain outside the framework of the treaty. There are also many countries with a developed atomic industry, including South Africa, Israel, Pakistan, India, Argentina, Brazil, Spain.

A particular source of concern are such "near-nuclear" countries as South Africa, Israel and Pakistan which, with the aid and direct connivance of several Western states, have come close to the production of nuclear weapons. So as not to draw attention to their nuclear activities, these countries have opted for the "less words, more deeds" tactics. While saying that they are not going to explode nuclear devices, these

countries in fact are intensively accumulating nuclear materials and technology suitable for military purposes. Experts point out that the aims pursued by these states' atomic programmes no longer boil down to merely demonstrating their capabilities in making one or several nuclear devices, but to organizing in the long term the full-scale production of nuclear weapons and ensuring the development and acquisition of effective means of delivering nuclear weapons.

As estimated by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, South Africa has already stockpiled 373 kg of highly enriched uranium which can be used to make from 15 to 25 nuclear devices. The planned increase in the uranium-enrichment capacities will enable Pretoria to annually produce from 40 to 100 bombs.

The American CIA reported that Israel was already in a position to deploy its nuclear forces as early as the mid-1970s.

The world press has repeatedly reported that South Africa and Israel

are jointly carrying out secret work to build cruise missiles and nuclear submarines. Only the fear of a negative response from the international community and countermeasures on the part of neighbouring states prevent South Africa and Israel from openly declaring themselves nuclear states.

Pakistan has sharply stepped up its nuclear preparations, building up uranium-enrichment capacities and buying dual-purpose technology on the "black market". Particularly distressing are the covert channels of bilateral cooperation in the nuclear sphere between Pakistan and the PRC, along which, it is believed, the Chinese technical specifications of the mechanism of a nuclear explosive device's functioning could be passed. Islamabad already has nuclear weapon delivery means – the F-16 aircraft – supplied from the USA. Experts at Georgetown University (USA) believe that by 1990 Pakistan will be able to produce 20 and by 2000, 60 atom bombs.

Pakistan's actions are followed with particular alarm in India. Its leaders have repeatedly warned that they will take countermeasures in the event of Islamabad developing nuclear weapons.

Argentina and Brazil have been making rapid headway in mastering uranium-enrichment and plutonium-regeneration technology. These countries are even beginning to export some types of nuclear reactors to developing countries and conclude agreements on nuclear cooperation with them, which in the long term may become the channels of transfer of technology and materials in violation of the International Atomic Energy Agency's control.

A number of states, parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty – including Taiwan, South Korea, Egypt – have shown an interest in acquiring the dangerous technology. In the event of a change in the international situation some of them may reconsider their political commitments under the Treaty and quickly reorient their atomic programmes towards military needs.

Justifiable excuse

An open nuclear weapon test by some "threshold" country is bound to cause countersteps on the part of neighbouring states and may trigger the chain reaction of nuclear proliferation in the world. A regional race in nuclear weapons will sharply

intensify the danger of nuclear weapons being used in hostilities of states opposed to each other and, especially, the threat of the present-day nuclear powers, including the USA and the USSR, being drawn into the conflict.

The further increase of the technical capabilities of countries in the nuclear sphere imperatively puts forward the task of enhancing the effectiveness of influencing the policy of "near-nuclear" states and creating new international barriers in addition to the Non-Proliferation Treaty in the way of the nuclear weapons spread. The USA and the USSR, as the two depository states of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, are called upon to play the leading role in tackling this problem.

The continued unwinding of the spiral of the nuclear arms race and the lack of any results in nuclear disarmament have become the main reasons for lessening the effectiveness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The Treaty is based on the balance of the commitments of non-nuclear states – not to acquire nuclear weapons, and of nuclear ones – to effect steps towards disarmament. Distinct signs already appeared at the 2nd international conference held in 1980 to verify the operation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, to the effect that the non-observance of this balance of commitments through the fault of the USA (its refusal to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty) had adversely affected the non-proliferation status – the conference was unable to adopt its final document.

The situation looks even more alarming before the 3rd conference set for September 1985. The American-Soviet talks (1981-1982) on nuclear arms limitation and reduction brought no results. The new talks began in Geneva. On the other hand, the USA has obstinately refused to resume the trilateral talks (between the USA, the USSR and Britain) on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests, proposed by the USSR, and has not ratified the Soviet-American treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests (1974) and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes (1976), despite the USSR's readiness to put them into operation.

The USA takes exception to freezing the arsenals of nuclear weapons in defiance of the calls from the overwhelming majority of countries. The Pentagon has developed ever new types of nuclear arms, boosted the production of fissionable materials, and openly declared its adherence to the doctrines of waging

"limited" and "protracted" nuclear wars. All this, even from the standpoint of non-nuclear countries, parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, bears witness to one thing: that the USA as a nuclear power has not honoured its commitments under the Treaty.

In this situation many parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty pose this question: is it possible to tolerate a situation when nuclear powers urge others not to develop nuclear weapons and at the same time continue, as the USA does, to bank on them as the instrument of political and military expansion. For their part, the countries not taking part in the Treaty receive a justifiable excuse to keep aloof of its framework, to qualify the Treaty as "discriminatory" and perpetuating the "nuclear hegemony" of several powers, and in the meantime to carry out work on building their own nuclear weapons. Most experts agree that in the final analysis this state of affairs may have the most negative consequences not only for the existence of the Treaty, but also for the non-proliferation status as a whole by speeding up the spread of nuclear weapons.

The importance of ending tests

The fulfilment of the Non-Proliferation Treaty would be promoted by the formulation, adoption and stage-by-stage realization of a programme of nuclear disarmament. The draft of a corresponding programme, formulated by the Soviet Union, lies static on the table of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament exclusively in view of the opposition of the USA and its allies. The USSR is prepared to reach an agreement on pertinent control guaranteeing the realization of this programme by the nuclear states. The experience of the IAEA's control activities could be used to set up a mechanism of verification.

The conclusion of a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests would have an important role to play in holding back the nuclear arms race, in not spreading nuclear weapons. As much is stated in the Non-Proliferation Treaty itself. This measure would put up obstacles to the development of new types and systems of nuclear weapons, and to the appearance of new nuclear states. A number of countries, which have not signed the Treaty, justify their refusal to do this by claiming that it demands that the

states which do not possess nuclear weapons should forever renounce their acquisition, while nuclear countries are continuing to improve and build up their arsenals by testing nuclear devices. In this connection the non-nuclear countries, both parties and non-parties to the Treaty, correctly believe that the complete ban on nuclear tests would considerably shore up their non-proliferation status.

The conclusion of a treaty on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests would create solid political barriers against holding tests by "near-nuclear" states, which would hardly dare to challenge the international community. The signing of this treaty by countries which are not parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty could become a prelude to their joining it.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly confirmed its readiness to adopt the most sweeping measures for completely banning and ending nuclear weapon tests. At the 37th Session of the UN General Assembly the USSR put forward for consideration the "Main Provisions of a Treaty on the Complete and Universal Banning of Nuclear Weapon Tests", which are now on the table of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

Of great importance for the cause of non-proliferation would be the elaboration of an international convention on strengthening the security guarantees of non-nuclear countries, the draft of which was submitted on the Soviet Union's initiative for consideration at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament in 1978. Most specialists in international affairs agree that as compensation for its refusal to acquire nuclear weapons this or that country, on signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty, is entitled to demand that all nuclear states give it guarantees on the non-use of nuclear weapons against it. In this case the attractive power of being a party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty would sharply grow, because the security of non-nuclear member-countries would be much safer than that of those "near-nuclear" states which remain outside its framework and do not abandon the plans of building nuclear weapons.

Tlatelolco's example

At the 1st Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament

in 1978 the Soviet Union declared that it would never use nuclear weapons against states which renounced the production and acquisition of these weapons and did not have them on their territory. Unlike the USSR, the USA and other nuclear countries have showed open reluctance to give clear-cut and unambiguous guarantees on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states, reserving the right to use "atomic diplomacy". This approach can only give non-nuclear countries an additional stimulus to acquire their own nuclear weapons on the pretext of ensuring their security interests.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones has an important part to play among the measures aimed at putting up additional barriers to the spread of nuclear weapons. The formation of such zones is encouraged by the articles of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nuclear-free zones are a fruit of the efforts of non-nuclear countries, a sign of their desire to contribute to neutralizing the nuclear threat and bolstering up the non-proliferation status.

At present the movement for the establishment of nuclear-free zones has encompassed many regions and continents of the world. The annual sessions of the UN General Assembly regularly pass resolutions approving the idea of nuclear-free zones. An international law precedent of such a zone came into being in 1967 - a treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America (Tlatelolco Treaty). The participation in this treaty by countries which have not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty - Argentina, Brazil, etc. - constitutes a political obstacle to switching their peaceful nuclear programmes over to military production. Nuclear-free zones could have a special role to play in regions where the potential threat of the rise of new nuclear states is the strongest - the Middle East and Africa.

The Soviet Union has fully supported the striving for the establishment of nuclear-free zones. It has joined Protocol II of the Tlatelolco Treaty which envisages an obligation by

nuclear states to abstain from the threat or use of nuclear weapons against the member-countries of the zone. The USSR has repeatedly stressed its readiness as a nuclear power to help set up nuclear-free zones in other regions of the world.

Other nuclear states - the USA, Britain, France and the PRC - have also assumed a commitment to observe the Tlatelolco Treaty. However, it is common knowledge that the USA and other nuclear states take a negative attitude to narrowing the geographical parameters of locating nuclear weapons abroad and to international law restrictions on the operation of nuclear forces. As a result of this approach, we see the dangerous ignoring of the political import which nuclear-free zones have today in solving non-proliferation questions in the Middle East, Africa and other regions.

Prior to the 3rd international conference on the verification of the operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons especial urgency has been added to the question of constructive cooperation between the USA and the USSR in strengthening the non-proliferation status. The coincidence of the interests of the USA and the USSR in preventing the rise of new nuclear states provides the basis for coordinating approaches to questions concerning nuclear disarmament with a view to raising the effectiveness of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, in the joint search for new additional measures contributing to the reliability and durability of the existing status of non-proliferation.

The feasibility of the threat of nuclear proliferation prompts the urgent need for the USA and the USSR to display political farsightedness in tackling the question of nuclear arms limitation and reduction, with a view to more effectively influencing the policy of non-nuclear states regarding nuclear weapons. In the final analysis, the success of the non-proliferation policy depends on how far the nuclear powers will advance along the path of cutting down their own arsenals.

INTERNATIONAL

U. S., SOVIET ATTITUDES ON CBW BAN CONTRASTED

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 3 Mar 85 p 7

[Article by Vladimir Kuznetsov]

[Text] Experts of the chemical weapons special committee at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament work behind closed doors.

Outside the Palais des Nations, where the committee holds its sessions, things are debated openly. Being discussed in the press at the moment are new facts on continued work in the USA on production of chemical weapons.

In a recent example, a US Defense Department spokesman announced plans for holding this spring new tests of nerve agents at Aberdeen and Dugway US Army testing grounds and near the town of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. The objective is to assess the effectiveness of the 155-mm missiles currently in service charged with the VX-type agent and sarin.

The USA possesses the world's largest chemical weapons potential with more than 90 varieties of weapons totalling nearly 300,000 tons. Some 90 state-run and private companies in the USA are engaged in the development and production of chemical weapons.

Among them is one of the giant American transnationals, Union Carbide, which for many years has been one of the Pentagon's main contractors.

At present there are 55,000 tons of highly toxic agents stockpiled in American depots. In 1983, while American delegates were debating in Geneva the signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling

of Chemical Weapons and Their Destruction, the United States went ahead with a wide-scale "chemical rearmament" of all the armed services starting a radical modernization of the chemical arsenal. The five-year programme will cost 10 billion dollars, providing for an increase in chemical ammunitions of up to 5 million items.

The programme stresses so-called binary ammunition charged with nerve gas. The US administration seeks in its 1986 fiscal year a projected federal budget of 151 billion dollars for its development, a 30 per

cent rise from the previous budget. According to Secretary of Defense Weinberger's directive, the US Armed Forces should be ready this year for the swift use of chemical weapons, while the US Air Force and Navy should complete the development of new systems of delivery of binary ammunition by 1990.

Does this signify a repetition of chemical savagery? Old scars are still plentiful. In Vietnam, for example, the US Air Force sprayed nearly 50 million litres of dioxine, destroying more than 500,000 hectares of forests, 360,000 hectares of cropland. And 2.5 million Vietnamese civilians fell victim to these crimes.

The Soviet Union advocates a full and comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. In January, 1984, the Warsaw Treaty countries made an offer to NATO countries to pledge to liberate Europe from chemical weapons. Such regional measures, if implemented, would speed up the signing of the convention on banning chemical weapons.

CSO: 1812/189

INTERNATIONAL

TASS ELECTED TO ASIA-PACIFIC NEWS AGENCIES TECHNICAL GROUP

LD302355 Moscow TASS in English 1626 GMT 30 Mar 85

[Text] New Delhi, 30 March (TASS)--TASS special correspondents Vladimir Baydashin, Geliy Skobelev and Georgiy Shmelev report:

The organization of Asia/Pacific News Agencies [OANA] ended its 6th General Assembly here today, which was attended by some 80 delegates and observers from 24 news agencies of 20 countries of the region as well as UNESCO and a number of other international organizations.

The delegates today unanimously endorsed the report of the 6th General Assembly, which drew the balance sheet for the work done by their four-day meeting. They also passed several resolutions, including those on further upgrading the Asia/Pacific News Network (ANN), launching an ANN photo news service and introducing a reduced tariff on the lease of telegraph communications channels and a document in support of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The OANA General Assembly called on the governments of the countries of the Asia/Pacific region to consider cuts in tariffs on the lease of telegraph communications channels as a matter of urgency to promote free and balanced exchanges of information. As is known, the Soviet Union introduced reduced tariffs on the lease of communications channels as far back as several years ago.

The General Assembly delegates stressed the vitally important role played by UNESCO in promoting a just, free and balanced flow of information and expressed their solidarity with and full support for that organization in its efforts to achieve a new international order in the field of information and communications.

During debates at their full-scale meetings, participants in the OANA forum criticized attempts by transnational information monopolies to force their standpoint on other states and the practices of the West's "information imperialism" and spoke out for establishing a new international information order as soon as possible. Delegates also expressed gratitude in their speeches to the international program for the development of communications for its assistance to the ANN with starting effective work.

During the assembly, OANA admitted its 25th member, the Eastern News Agency (ENA) of Bangladesh.

The delegates elected the OANA governing bodies for the next three-year term. The leading Indian news agency Press Trust of India (PTI) became OANA president, and PTI director-general Narayan Rama Chandran thus became the organization's leader. The OANA executive committee now also includes the news agencies ANTARA (Indonesia), IRNA (Iran), KYODO TSUSHIN (Japan), MONTGAME (Mongolia), APP (Pakistan), KPL (Laos), BERNAMA (Malaysia), and LANKAPUVATH [as received] (Sri Lanka).

The news agencies TASS (USSR) and VNA (Vietnam) were elected to the OANA Technical Group.

Indonesia was selected as the venue for the next OANA general conference.

The General Assembly also passed a special resolution expressing gratitude to the Indian national preparatory committee, first of all the Press Trust of India, as well as the news agencies United News of India, Samachar Bharati and Hindustan Samachar, which had done a large amount of work in preparation for the successful holding of the latest OANA forum.

CSO: 1812/192

INTERNATIONAL

BANDUNG CONFERENCE ON AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY MARKS 30TH YEAR

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 11-13, 34

[Article by Mirpasha Zemalov, secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee: "The Life-Giving Sources of Bandung"]

[Text]

30 years have passed since the convocation of the Bandung Conference, the first meeting of the leaders of independent Asian and African countries in history. That forum was destined to play an outstanding role in mobilising the peoples of the two continents to struggle for national liberation and the liquidation of the aftermaths of colonialism, to solve major and in many ways new tasks of post-colonial development. It laid the firm foundation of the solidarity and mutual assistance of the newly-free states. The well-known "ten principles" that were set forth in April 1955 in the Indonesian town of Bandung were a sort of a manifesto of peaceful co-existence with which the young independent states emerged in the international arena and which they addressed to the world community. Of unflinching universal importance are such of them as respect for the aims and principles of the UN Charter, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, recognition of their equality, refrainment from acts or threats of aggression, non-use of force, peaceful political settlement of outstanding international issues.

What concrete historical conditions had determined the need for the leaders of Afro-Asian countries to meet and imparted to their jointly adopted decisions such impressive effectiveness throughout the subsequent decades? In what measure have the developing countries inherited the "spirit and principles of Bandung" and embodied them in their social and political practice? And, finally, how were the needs and aspirations of the developing countries perceived by the outside world thirty years ago and how are they perceived now?

It is relevant to study these questions in connection with the 30th anniversary of the conference in Bandung that is being extensively marked by the Afro-Asian and international public.

It was ten years since the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War. The rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism with the decisive contribution of the USSR, the spread of socialism beyond the boundaries of a single country and its turning into a world social system drastically limited the sphere of imperialist domination and brought about a qualitatively new alignment of forces on the global scale.

Favourable conditions were created for a mighty upsurge of national liberation struggle, which shook imperialism's system of colonial domination in countries of Asia and Africa

to its foundation. It was during the first postwar years that Indonesia, India, Vietnam, Burma, Syria, Sri Lanka, Jordan and other countries acquired independence and embarked on the road of independent development. The proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and People's Republic of China was an event of major international importance. But most countries and peoples of the two continents had yet to conduct a long and difficult struggle to attain political independence.

The impressive successes of the forces of liberation, peace and socialism caused fury and reflexes of revanchism in the imperialist camp. The aggressive NATO bloc was set up in 1949. The motors of the cold war were put into top gear in Washington. Raving plans of "containing and rolling back communism", of delivering a preventive nuclear strike against the Soviet Union were drawn up there.

In their striving to recarve the world again and to keep the peoples of Asia and Africa in the fetters of dependence the imperialists, first of all those of the United States, instigated armed conflicts. The bloody war in Korea began in 1950 with the direct participation of the American military. The British colonialists were in a hurry to prevent the collapse of their positions "to the east of Suez" while the French were preparing new grave trials for the peoples of Algeria, Tunisia and other countries that were dependent in those times. To undermine the mounting national liberation struggle of the peoples the SEATO, ANZUS and CENTO aggressive blocs were formed and a network of military bases on foreign territories was created. It became evident by the mid-1950s that the desire of the world's peoples for peaceful life and free development is opposed by the militaristic circles of the United States and NATO which armed themselves with the atomic bomb and turned it into their main argument in international matters.

The idea of the solidarity of Afro-Asian countries, of which India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is rightly held to be the architect, came into being and asserted itself in these complex and contradictory international conditions of the postwar period. An outstanding strategist of the national liberation movement, it was already long before the World War II that in his publications and public statements Nehru predicted the need of the anti-colonial unity of the oppressed peoples, their close interaction after the gaining of political independence.

Several months still remained before the proclamation of India's independence when the first Asian Relations Conference gathered in New Delhi on Nehru's initiative in March 1947.

A delegation from Soviet Central Asia attended the conference among representatives of many countries of the continent. When greeting the participants in the forum Nehru noted with special warmth that the Soviet Asian republics had made rapid advances during the lifetime of a single generation and that the peoples of Asia could learn much from them.

Together with the Soviet Union India played an important role in giving moral and political support to the Indonesian people's struggle against foreign intervention. Asian and international conferences of solidarity with Indonesia, which quickened solution at the United Nations of the question of recognising its independence, were convened in New Delhi in 1948 and 1949. These and other such activities met with broad response in Asian countries, demonstrated the big potential possibilities of the solidarity of peoples conducting an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle.

The Asian solidarity conference, attended by some 200 delegates from 15 countries of the continent, was held in the Indian capital early in April 1955 and became a noticeable milestone in this movement's growth. It facilitated the establishment of contacts and cooperation of the peace-loving socio-political forces in the continent's countries and the forming of solidarity committees in many of them, including the Soviet Union.

The efforts by India and its leader Nehru to convene the first Afro-Asian conference were supported by other countries. Indonesia, that freed itself from the fetters of colonialism, and its president Sukarno, and Egypt headed by Nasser after the revolution of 1952, made an invaluable contribution to the implementation and subsequent development of this daring and innovative initiative.

The Bandung Conference, held from April 18 to 26 with the participation of the heads of state and government of almost thirty independent states of the two continents, got ardent support in Afro-Asian and socialist countries, and found itself in the centre of attention of the world public. The work of the conference, the documents adopted at it reflected the pressing needs of the social development of Afro-Asian countries at the dawn of their independence. It set in logical interconnection fundamental questions of long-term importance for the development of these countries: overcoming of economic and cultural backwardness on the basis of equal interaction with one another and the rest of the world; effective assistance to peoples continuing the anti-colonial, anti-racist struggle; resistance to imperialism's militaristic plans and preparations, and vigorous struggle for the preservation of peace. It was stressed in the concluding communique of the conference that disarmament and a ban on the production, testing and use of nuclear and thermonuclear arms are absolutely essential to save mankind and civilisation from fear and the prospect of total destruction.

The "principles of Bandung", the "spirit of Bandung"—after 1955 these expressions became firmly established in the political vocabulary of the overwhelming majority of Afro-Asian countries symbolising their sovereignty and collective will, their striving and ability to serve as a constructive factor of international life. The decisions adopted in Bandung determined for many years and decades to come the main directions of the political evolution of Afro-Asian countries, their place and role in the contemporary world. It was the first Afro-Asian conference that introduced in international relations concepts, such as "positive neutrality" and "non-alignment", which were subsequently to become the fundamental principles of the newly-free states' foreign policy.



The ideas and decisions of Bandung found their embodiment and development in the fundamentally new form of political alliance of sovereign states—the non-aligned movement. Its origination late in the 1950s and early 1960s was based on the striving to prevent a drastic worsening of the situation in the world as a result of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the United States and NATO, to prevent a nuclear clash between the two opposing military-political blocs and to ensure favourable international conditions for solving the tasks of the economic and cultural development of emergent states.

The first conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1961 on the initiative of Indonesia, India, Yugoslavia, Egypt and some other countries was keyed by an atmosphere of new important changes on the international scene in favour of the national liberation forces. In 1960, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which had been set forth by the Soviet Union. This created a firm foundation in international law for the process of decolonisation, first and foremost in Africa.

The Belgrade conference stated that the principles of peaceful coexistence are the only alternative to the cold war and to a possible universal nuclear catastrophe. As though setting an example to the international community the non-aligned countries made these principles the basis of relations between themselves. A number of circumstances should be taken into consideration to appreciate better the entire farsightedness of this decision.

Firstly, the emergent countries, most of which acquired

statehood for the first time, inherited from the former metropolitan countries not only economic and social backwardness but in many cases also artificially imposed boundaries that not only ignored local ethnical, cultural, linguistic, religious and other traditional factors but often contradicted them. Thereby the former colonialists placed "delayed action mines" under the yet unsteady buildings of the young states. To this day these mines are exploding first in one country, then in another.

Secondly, the non-aligned movement itself presents a quilt-work of states belonging to differing, sometimes opposite social and political systems ranging from feudal monarchies to socialist states. The opponents of non-alignment, the overt and covert enemies of the cohesion of the young developing states, see in this a possibility to disintegrate the movement, to undermine it from inside by exploiting the numerous outstanding issues of the Afro-Asian and international political life.

But the almost 25 years of experience of the non-aligned movement, the development of events in the world dashes these hopes. The policy pursued by the overwhelming majority of non-aligned states convincingly confirms the viability of the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, demonstrates not only the possibility but also the need of their cooperation in the name of solving pressing tasks. It was precisely the principles of peaceful coexistence that served as a reliable, true compass for the non-aligned movement in the aggravated international situation. Guiding itself by these principles the movement emerged in the forefront of world politics, proved capable of effectively influencing the formation of the world's political climate and increasingly began to play the role of a stabilising, constructive factor in international life.

The ultimate result, the "overall positive denominator" of the policy of non-alignment is by no means a "sum total" of the concrete political lines pursued by the movement's member countries. The positive course of the policy of non-alignment is worked out in a rather complex and tense atmosphere of the comparison and sometimes opposition and struggle of various points of view. The latest 7th Conference of the movement held in New Delhi in March 1983 under the chairmanship of the now late Indira Gandhi was no exception. At the conference the attention of many participants and observers was attracted by the activity of individual delegations which on Washington's obvious prompting tried to lead the forum away from the study of major global problems, to draw it into the labyrinth of complex local issues on which many participants were known to have conflicting views. But even in such cases the non-aligned movement employs a tested method—concentrates attention and efforts on fundamental questions and tasks of prime importance that are common for the entire movement. That is why for many years already the non-aligned movement proceeds from clear coordinated positions on such key problems of our time as war and peace, strategy of economic and cultural development, creation of peace zones and nuclear-free zones, liquidation of seats of tension.

The non-aligned movement persistently advocates nuclear disarmament and vigorously works to translate this vital call of our time into practice. The overwhelming majority of the developing countries have now joined the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, though they themselves have no nuclear weapons of their own. This is a weighty contribution to the cause of peace. It would be just to say that the young developing states and the non-aligned movement's principled policy of defending universal peace have largely contributed to the fact that for nearly forty years now humanity has seen no global war, even though it lives in a fairly fragile and vulnerable world.

This policy is continued by the active work of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in his capacity of chairman of the non-aligned movement. The Delhi conference of the leaders of India, Mexico, Sweden, Tanzania, Argentina and Greece held in January 1985 on the initiative of Rajiv Gandhi welcomed the understanding reached between the

USSR and the USA to open talks on an entire range of problems pertaining to space and nuclear armaments and called upon the nuclear powers as well as all nations, parliaments and governments to take the necessary measures to stop, as soon as possible, the nuclear arms race, to reduce and subsequently eliminate nuclear arsenals and to put an end to the very threat of a nuclear war.

In the international arena the non-aligned movement comes out with an extensive positive programme of large-scale initiatives and proposals in the sphere of politics, economy and culture. They serve the interests both of the developing countries themselves and the improvement of the political climate in the world, the normal development of inter-state cooperation. Among them are the proposals to create a new international economic and information order, to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, to find a just solution to outstanding issues and crisis situations, generated by imperialism's aggressive actions.

Coordinated initiatives of the non-aligned movement are regularly included in the agenda of sessions of the UN General Assembly and discussed with interest by the international community. But the imperialist powers prevent their realisation, resist, for instance, the restructuring of the international economic and trade relations on a just, democratic basis, obstruct the cultural and social development of the newly-independent countries and aggravate tension and the war danger in the world.

The movement, of course, has its internal problems, sometimes dramatic ones. Take, for instance, the Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict which is continuing since the autumn of 1980 and has brought tremendous manpower, material and moral losses to both belligerents.

The non-aligned movement, its leadership and the summit in New Delhi used all possible diplomatic and political means to put an end to the bloodshed between the two neighbouring Moslem, non-aligned states. But these efforts are not bringing the desired results.

An analysis of conflict situations and complex problems in the zone of non-alignment reveals the direct or indirect involvement of external forces of imperialism and hegemonism in their origination and chronic aggravation, the striving of these forces to obstruct in every way a just settlement of the arising problems, to provoke and perpetuate seats of conflict in the developing world, to thus weaken both the countries drawn into these conflicts and the non-aligned movement as a whole. US imperialism's undisguised intent to use individual developing countries in the interests of its global militaristic strategy, in aims contradicting the very status of non-alignment exerts a destabilising influence on the movement. This, alas, refers first of all to Pakistan, one of the initiators of the convocation of the Bandung Conference. The military regime in Pakistan has turned this once prestigious country into a military training range of the United States, from the territory of which subversive actions are launched both against Afghanistan and India, the chairman of the non-aligned movement. It is not surprising, therefore, that the democratic forces of the country realise the entire harmfulness of this policy for the national interests of Pakistan and persistently oppose the blind toeing of Washington's dangerous course by the authorities and press for the pursuance by the country of a policy of good neighbourhood in the region.

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The historic Bandung conference gave a powerful impulse to the anti-imperialist movement of the socio-political forces in many Asian and African countries and equipped them with true and clear-cut principles of solidarity, cohesion and common effort in the struggle for the liberation and development of their nations. It was precisely these principles that brought to life the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, whose founding conference took place in Cairo in December 1957 and which was attended by delegations from 48 countries. Many of them, especially African countries,

were represented by national liberation organisations engaged at the time in the armed anti-colonial struggle.

The subsequent years of the Solidarity Organisation's activities, its close interaction with the non-aligned movement and other peace forces and organisations, placed it in line with the major and authoritative centres of the world-wide anti-imperialist and democratic movement.

The Solidarity Organisation skillfully mobilised dozens of political parties, including ruling ones, as well as mass public organisations and national liberation movements to give a concerted repulse to the aggressive designs of the imperialists, to the plunderous policy of transnational corporations in developing countries.

In the 1980s, in conditions of the increased aggressiveness of the militaristic circles of imperialism, first of all that of the United States, its all-out offensive against the positions of the forces of national liberation and social progress, the AAPSO actively joined the anti-war, anti-nuclear movement of the world's peace-loving public and became an influential centre of the world campaign for disarmament.

The 6th AAPSO Congress that gathered delegations from about a hundred countries of the world in Algiers in May 1984, became a major socio-political event, a real milestone in this organisation's biography. This forum demonstrated the unprecedented political maturity and great organisational possibilities of the solidarity movement of the Afro-Asian peoples, its ability to be up to the mark of the most challenging demands of our time.

The General Declaration of the 6th AAPSO Congress, calling on the peace-loving public to come out against the insane arms race, struggle actively for general and complete disarmament, for lasting security for all peoples, for the easing of international tension, to mobilise the efforts of all peoples in order to avert the nuclear catastrophe¹ sounded almost thirty years later in unison with the Bandung Declaration on the promotion of universal peace and cooperation.

The Congress outlined a number of concrete measures directed at the attainment of these crucial aims and invigorating the contribution made by the Afro-Asian public to their achievement. Thus, there is much support in Asian countries for the AAPSO proposal to convene in 1985 an international conference under the slogan "Against the imperialist military threat, for peace and security in Asia".

Imperialism's class nature directed at exploitation and domination, at total neocolonialism on the global scale objectively enters an implacable contradictions with the natural striving of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for free and sovereign existence, for independent development. On encountering the resistance and growing counteraction of the peoples to this policy imperialism resorts to its fist of mail and tries to make shrift of the regimes and governments that are not to its liking. Such was the case thirty years ago. Such is the case today. Was it by chance that in his time the US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles smeared the non-aligned movement by calling it "immoral"? This opinion of the inspirer of the cold war reflected the conceptual non-acceptance of non-alignment by the pillars of imperialism as a symbol of the independence of former colonies, as an expression of their collective political will and constructive activity in the international arena.

By the same token it is not accidental but logical that the anti-Indian forces of reaction and terror, which carry out subversive activities against the territorial integrity and state unity of the Republic of India, directed the heinous assassination of Indira Gandhi, the outstanding political leader of our day, Chairman of the 7th Conference of heads of state and government of non-aligned countries, found shelter and patronage precisely in the United States and Britain.

The Soviet Union sincerely welcomed the appearance in the international arena of the non-aligned movement and the Afro-Asian peoples' solidarity movement, it invariably supports their peace-loving, anti-imperialist platform, supports the growth of their prestige and influence in the modern world.

The Soviet Union proceeds from a clear understanding that the non-aligned movement and Afro-Asian solidarity rest on the firm basis of the objective commonality and historical necessity of the socio-economic tasks tackled by the newly-free nations during the long stage of their post-colonial development. For this reason, all the diverse political and social systems in these countries notwithstanding, the internal "solidarity" factors of their policy, as a rule, always prove to be more powerful than "centrifugal" or "egocentric" motives, dooming every time the evil intentions and plans of the imperialist ideologists with respect to the non-aligned movement to failure.

The policy of strengthening cooperation and solidarity with the non-aligned countries is recorded in the programme documents of the Communist Party and in the fundamental law of the Soviet Union—the USSR Constitution. It is embodied in the practice of the USSR's equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with dozens of developing countries, in the provision of unselfish economic, scientific, technical and cultural assistance to them.

The treaties of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and a number of non-aligned states is evidence of the strength and dynamic development of the natural alliance between the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement, confirm the high international prestige of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy.

Just as in the past, the attempts by imperialism and reaction to undermine this alliance, to isolate the non-aligned countries from the USSR, from world socialism, are suffering a failure. The reckless adventurism and aggressiveness of imperialism's militaristic forces are opposed today by the front of forces of socialism, of national and social liberation, democracy and peace that has never been as powerful as now.

¹ The General Declaration was published in full in our journal, No. 6, 1984.

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CSO: 1812/197

INTERNATIONAL

STATISTICS ON USSR 1984 PLAN FULFILLMENT, 1985 BUDGET GIVEN

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 26-27

[Text]

National income spent on consumption and accumulation amounted to 496 billion roubles and increased by 2.6 per cent as compared to 1983, as it was envisaged by the state plan.

The volume of industrial production went up by 4.2 per cent as against 3.8 per cent according to plan. On the whole, industrial production in 1983-1984 went up by 8.6 per cent as compared to 6.4 per cent during the first two years of the five-year-plan period (1981-1982).

In agriculture there was a shortfall of produce as compared to volumes stipulated by the five-year plan, mostly because of extremely unfavourable climatic conditions. This affected the supply of industry with raw materials and trade with commodity resources. Nevertheless, the volume of gross agricultural produce exceeded by 10 billion roubles the average annual level of the previous 10th five-year-plan period. Purchases of livestock produce went up as compared to 1983: cattle and poultry by 4 per cent, milk by 4 per cent and eggs by 3 per cent, this exerting a favourable influence on the work of the corresponding processing industries of the agroindustrial complex and on the population's supply with meat and dairy products. The total output of agricultural produce in 1983-1984 exceeded by 20 billion roubles the figure achieved in the previous two years of the five-year-plan period.

Assignments to increase the efficiency of production and first of all to increase labour productivity in 1984 were fulfilled. Thus, in industry it exceeded 3.8 per cent as against 3.4 per cent provided for by the plan. This accounted for the first time for 93 per cent of the increment of industrial output. In agriculture, in construction and railway transport the entire increment was due to increased labour pro-

ductivity. This is largely due to the fulfilment by most work collectives of the additional commitments assumed in response to a call by the CPSU Central Committee to increase labour productivity and cut production costs over and above the plan assignments.

Fixed production assets to the sum of 136 billion roubles, financed by state capital investments, were put into service. By the end of the year the total volume of fixed production assets amounted to about 1.5 trillion roubles.

The fulfilment of the programme of social development and raising living standards outlined by the 26th Party Congress and further developed in decisions of subsequent Plenary Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, was continued in 1984. Thus, real per capita incomes of the population rose by 3.3 per cent as against the 3.1 per cent stipulated by the five-year plan for 1984. The average wage and salary amounted to 185 roubles, an increase of 2.5 per cent, while the remuneration of the work of collective farmers reached 145 roubles a month, an increase of 3 per cent. Public consumption funds rose by 3.5 per cent and reached almost 140 billion roubles.

Counting all sources of financing, housing with a total floor living space of 113 million square metres was built last year, or 0.6 million square metres more than in 1983. This enabled some ten million people to improve their housing conditions.

Also counting all sources of financing more pre-school institutions, schools, hospitals and outpatient clinics were built in 1984 than it was provided for this year by the five-year plan.

THE MAIN TASKS, RATES AND PROPORTIONS OF THE USSR'S ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN 1985

The plan for 1985 makes the emphasis on increasing the intensification of production, raising its technical standards, on the dynamic and balanced development of the economy and on making maximum use of the production, scientific and technical potential and internal reserves. The plan assignments to develop the country's economy and increase the efficiency of social production in 1985 ensure a balance of the various sections of the plan and first of all a balance between the whole of production and capital construction and material and technical resources, of the population's cash incomes and the volumes of retail trade turnover and paid services.

Proceeding from the planned volumes of material production the national income used for consumption and accumulation will grow by 17.5 billion roubles, or 3.5 per cent. The increment of industrial production in 1985 will be 3.9 per cent while the volume of agricultural produce is to go up by 6.7 per cent as compared to the previous year.

The assignments for 1985 provide for a further growth of the population's well being, for a consistent improvement of the entire complex of working and living conditions. Virtually the entire increment of national income is to be directed into the consumption fund. The real per capita incomes of the population are to grow by 3.3 per cent in line with the assignment of the five-year plan for 1985, and substantially greater than the average figure for the previous four years. The average wage and salary will grow to 190.6 roubles and the remuneration of the labour of collective farmers will reach 150 roubles a month. The centralised raising of the salaries of teachers and the wages of some categories of workers in agriculture will be continued. It is intended to expand the privileges granted to veterans of the Great Patriotic War and to start increasing the minimum old-age pensions of collective farmers and also the pensions of industrial and office workers who retired more than ten years ago.

The public consumption funds will be increased by 5 per cent and reach 146.5 billion roubles, or 2.5 billion rouble more than stipulated by the five-year plan for that year.

Housing with a total floor living space of 114 million square metres will be built in 1985, or 10.7 million square metres more than envisaged by the five-year plan for that year. The scope of cooperative and privately-owned housing will be substantially expanded to create still better possibilities for the improvement of housing conditions.

Counting all sources of financing pre-school institutions with accommodation for 630,000 children or 54,000 more than provided by the five-year plan for that year will be opened in 1985. General educational schools for 951,000 pupils and outpatient clinics intended to handle 116,000 patients per shift will be built, this being 20 and 35 per cent higher than the corresponding assignments of the five-year plan for 1985. Hospitals with 60,000 beds will be built. The network of sanatoriums, pensions, holiday homes, Young Pioneer camps will be expanded and possibilities for tourism and excursions will be increased. The medical industry will increase total output by 6.4 per cent to reach in terms of value 3.7 billion roubles.

MAIN ARTICLES OF THE USSR STATE BUDGET FOR 1985

The USSR state budget for 1985 is made up of revenues of 391.5 billion roubles and spending of 391.3 billion roubles. Revenue is planned to exceed spending by 200 million roubles. The budget spending is distributed among the following main directions:

	bln roubles	
	1984	1985
National economy	207.9	222.3
Social and cultural measures	118.2	123.9
Defence	17.054	19.063
Administration	2.8	2.9

In the state budget of the USSR financing of social and cultural measures is to reach 123.9 billion roubles, or almost a third of all spending. In addition to this enterprises and orga-

nisation will allocate for these purposes more than 29 billion roubles of their own money.

Distribution of budget spending among separate types of the above-stated measures:

	bln roubles	
	1984	1985
Public education, science and culture	46.4	49.2
Public health and physical culture	16.7	17.2
State social security and social insurance	55.1	57.5

26.3 billion roubles from the state budget and other sources of financing will be spent on housing construction. The state will invest about 2.5 billion roubles in various measures to protect the natural environment. ■

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CSO: 1812/197

INTERNATIONAL

HISTORY OF ALGERIA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE RECALLED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 39-42

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Robert Landa: "Along the Road of Revolutionary Struggle"]

[Text]

On the night of November 1, 1954, shots resounded in the mountains of eastern Algeria as a handful of brave men threw the gauntlet to the French colonial rule that had lasted almost a century and a half. The rebels attacked military barracks, police commissariats, army depots, enterprises, government offices, transport and communication facilities, simultaneously in 30 points of the country. They spread an appeal to the compatriots whose words were later turned into an oath: "Act on the side of the forces of liberation whom you must give help, cooperation and shelter. Nonparticipation in the struggle is a crime. Resistance to it is treason."

The rebellion was a spark that some thirty years ago ignited Algeria's national democratic revolution. November 1, 1954, drew a neat demarcation line between the socio-political life of old, colonial Algeria and that of Algeria rebellious.

On the eve of the revolution the dominant French monopolies, European colonists and the local bourgeoisie controlled 92 per cent of Algeria's economy. Landless rural proletarians—metayers and farm-hands—made up two-thirds of Algeria's rural population. A million and a half of Algerians, almost half of the able-bodied population, were unemployed. Famine, diseases, mass child mortality were endemic with the native people. At the same time, the average income of several thousand richest European capitalists and colonists was 84 times higher than that of Algerian peasants—the majority of population—28 times higher than that of the majority of city-dwellers and 14 times higher than the average income of more or less well-off part of the population. Algerians lived like foreigners in their own country. Any advocacy of Algerian independence was viewed as an "attempt against the integrity of French territory" and punished by 10 years of imprisonment, for officially it was declared that "Algeria is France".

Fearful of the growth of patriotic sentiment in the country, the colonial authorities, back in May 1945, provoked an unprepared uprising in the east of the country and drowned it in the blood of 45,000 killed Algerians. Mohamed Boukharouba (future APDR President Houari Boumediene, then a 13-year-old village boy) reminisced later: "That day I grew prematurely older. Out of an adolescent I became a man. The world toppled over and the ancestors turned in their graves. Even children realised it was necessary to take up arms and fight for freedom." These feelings were shared by the 300,000 Algerians who returned to their country after serving in the French army during the Second World War. Having military experience and

combat habits many of them later played an outstanding role in the revolution.

The patriots' onslaught on the colonial system had been held back for more than nine years by the disunity of the national parties, especially by the infighting within the largest of them—the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms, compounded also by ambitions of its chairman, Ahmed Messali. In late 1953 the party split into "Messalists" and "centralists" (siding with the Central Committee). The split was opposed by a group of young activists. Their leaders, including Larbi Ben Mhidi, Moustafa Ben Boulaid, Rabah Bitat and Mourad Didouche, all of whom had long been underground, managed by 1952 to illegally reactivate and reorganise their sections, obtain weapons, establish contacts with guerrilla groups formed back in 1947 in the mountains out of Algerians fleeing from persecution by the French authorities.

They opted to act independently in view of the favourable world situation obtaining in 1954. The neighbouring Maghreb countries were already in the grip of an armed struggle. France's defeat in Vietnam in May 1954 aroused in many Algerians, first of all in those who served the French army in Indochina, a confidence in the effectiveness of anti-colonial resistance. Later on some French authors admitted that the Algerians serving in Indochina viewed the struggle of Vietnamese patriots as a "model for themselves".

The November uprising was much a result of the creation (in October 1954) of the National Liberation Front (NLF) whose military detachments were immediately reorganised into the National Liberation Army (NLA). The country was divided into six military regions.

The first four months of military operations brought the NLF not only successes but also heavy losses. Killed were some three thousand guerrillas, including the prominent founder of NLF, M. Didouche. Arrested were NLF leaders R. Bitat, head of the Algiers underground (region No. 4) and Ben Boulaid, one of the bravest mountaineer guerrilla leaders (commander of region No. 1).¹ However, the let up in military activity was a short one: in April and May military operations were resumed. The guerrilla mountaineers were joined by landless peasants, the city poor and the unemployed youth. The Algerian servicemen in the French army were also coming over to the side of the rebels. By August 1955 the peasant character of the war, that gradually engulfed also the plain regions, became obvious. By late 1955 the NLA numbered 15,000-20,000 men and had another 400,000 in reserve. The NLF embraced almost all the trends of legal nationalism. The credit of their union within the NLF goes to Ramdan Abbane, the brightest and most gifted leader of the Algerian revolution. Having come to prominence from early 1955 as guerrilla leader of the mountainous region of Cabulia (region No. 3), Abbane in fact coordinated the activities of different regions and up to his death in December 1957 was an unchallenged leader of the NLF who contributed more than anyone to the working out of organisational and ideological principles of the revolutionary struggle.

The entry into struggle of the Algerian Communist Party (ACP) was an important factor, though it was not immediately able to change over to new methods of struggle in a new situation, like other legal parties. Bourgeois authors later asserted that this was caused by the mixed composition of the ACP, half of whose membership was made up of Europeans. However, after the ACP CC's decision of June 20, 1955, to join the revolution, many ACP members, including Europeans, entered the ranks of the NLA already in July 1955. Having been banned in September 1955, the ACP went underground

¹ Having escaped from prison in November 1955, Ben Boulaid perished in April 1956. Bitat, freed after the victory of the revolution in 1962, is at present a member of the Politburo of the NLF and Chairman of the National People's Assembly of the APDR.

and set up a military organisation, Fighters for Freedom, which under the command of six ACP CC members carried out military operations in five cities of Algeria as well as in the valley of the Chélif river and in the district of Ténès. In May-June 1956 the ACP leadership (CC Secretary B. Hadj Ali and Politburo member S. Hadjeres) reached agreement with the NLF leadership, headed by R. Abbane, which stipulated that the Fighters for Freedom would merge with the NLA, having pledged not to maintain "organisational or political contacts with the ACP until the end of the armed struggle, while not renouncing their ideals and political views."

In subsequent years the ACP suffered considerable losses: out of its 40 CC members 21 (including 8 out of the 12 Politburo members and three out of five secretaries of the CC) were imprisoned by the colonial authorities, four of the eight CC members fighting in the ranks of the NLA were killed. But even in 1960, when most members of the comparatively small ACP were either killed or imprisoned, or forced to emigrate, there were not few of them among the rank-and-file fighters of the NLA, as well as among its commanders and commissars.

In distinction from the ACP the "Messalists" did not wish to join the NLF and began to rival it, having formed detachments and organisations of its own. The colonialists tried to stake on them and Governor-General Soustelle even said: "Messali is my last card". However, that card turned out to be beaten. In the course of fierce battles with the NLA in 1955-1957, the splitters lost all their positions in Algeria and after 1959 also among the numerous Algerian immigrants in France. Messali, a general without an army, blinded by his own "greatness", suffered a political bankruptcy, which was the inevitable consequence of his adventurism and sectarianism which turned into treason. That is why Messali, so popular in 1936-1954, was forgotten under new conditions, while his followers degenerated into a bunch of renegates despised by the people.

In August 1956 the NLF held its first congress in Soummam (Cabulia). The Congress elected the National Council of the Algerian Revolution (NCAR), made up of 34 members (54 since 1957), which became the ruling body of the NLF. The NCAR is headed by the Coordinating-Executive Committee composed of five people (nine since 1957). The Congress elaborated on the structure and organisation of the NLA, adopted the Soummam platform that served until 1962 as a political and ideological programme of the NLF. It envisaged the creation in Algeria of an independent "democratic and socialist republic", respect for the basic freedoms of citizens irrespective of their race or religion, implementation of a "deep agrarian reform", mainly in the interests of the poor peasants, metayers and farm-hands that provided the foundation of the NLA, mobilisation of the nation's entire forces to liquidate colonialism within the framework of mass organisations of workers, students, traders and artisans under the auspices of the NLF. Also envisaged were the guaranteed rights of Europeans living in Algeria (which fact is still hushed up by the bourgeois historical literature), as well as the possibility of equal relations with France provided she recognises Algeria's independence.

The Soummam Congress was followed by the creation of a network of the Political-Administrative Organisation (PAO), formed out of the local NLF committees, headed by political commissars and supported by the elected people's assemblies (djemaa), that acted openly in the NLA-held territory and secretly in the regions occupied by the French troops. The assemblies' decisions were executed by "committees of three", responsible for tax collection, legal proceeding, tilling of the land seized from the European colonists and their feudal collaborators, the distribution of food and financial aid, primarily among the families of NLA fighters and victims of colonial repression. With the help of this "nervous system of the uprising", as the PAO was dubbed by French generals, the NLF managed to withstand the superior forces of colonialists.

By the summer of 1958 the NLA numbered some 130,000 men, had light artillery, radio communication, specialised services (reconnaissance, logistics, medical, transport). Relying on

the support of the population it was able to inflict unexpected blows at the enemy and successfully engage in guerrilla warfare. But the forces were unequal. After 1957 against the NLA was pitted an 800,000-strong French Army, equipped with the newest materiel, including tanks, firearms and US-made helicopters. France kept in Algeria two-thirds of its Air force and half the Navy. French generals, enriched over 1946-1956 with the experience of colonial wars in Indochina, Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt, used that experience on the widest scale in Algeria. Air raids, artillery bombardments, firing squads, tortures, mass deportations and other repressions, sly propaganda brainwashing of the population, lies and corruption—such was the hallmark of the "dirty war" in Algeria. It cost an enormous price to the Algerians: over 1954-1962 out of the country's 9 to 10 million population one million and a half lost their lives, about two million went through the hell of prisons and concentration camps, half a million fled to neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco; 9,000 villages were razed to the ground. About 700,000 peasants fled to cities where they joined the ranks of the unemployed and homeless. After the war the country had 500,000 widows and 350,000 orphans. Countless people became crippled and disabled. Every day of the struggle raised the civic self-awareness of ordinary Algerians. That is why neither ruthless "pacification by military means", nor the demagoguery about all Algerians, including the nomads of Sahara, being "full-fledged French", nor the declaration in 1958 of the policy of "an Algerian Algeria connected with France", produced the results that the colonialists wanted.

Recognition by President de Gaulle in September 1959 of Algeria's right to self-determination was a legitimate consequence of the Algerian people's selfless struggle. And though the resistance by colonialist reaction in France and especially by Algeria's "seigneurs", who colluded with the Army top brass, long delayed the opening of Franco-Algerian talks, the suppression by de Gaulle of a colonialist mutiny in January 1960 and a "generals' putsch" in April 1961 paved the way for the NLF's dialogue with Paris.

The protracted war in Algeria caused protests all over the world, including France herself. Since 1955 the Algerian question was debated by the UN General Assembly, which in December 1960 passed a resolution on Algeria's right to independence. This was facilitated by the consistent and unequivocal stand by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that constantly gave Algerian revolutionaries material aid (including weapons), diplomatic, political and other assistance (for example, receiving wounded NLA soldiers for treatment and Algerian students for instruction). That was of much importance for the NLA since after the tough battles of 1958-1959, in which it suffered the heaviest losses of the whole war and lost its most capable commanders, the question of training personnel was especially acute. They were instructed mainly in the socialist and Arab countries. In March 1960 the NLA formed its General Headquarters under the command of Houari Boumediene who since February 1955 fought in the west of the country. Working on the strengthening of the Army Boumediene made no secret that he saw the model of a future Algeria in the army having put forward a slogan: "Independence is just a stage. Revolution is the goal!"

Almost year-long Franco-Algerian talks (they lasted from May 1961 to March 1962) were crowned by the signing in Evian of a cease-fire agreement on the condition of Algeria's self-determination by referendum. Attempts were made to subvert this agreement by a military-fascist Secret Army Organisation (OAS) recruited from the routed colonialists and mutinous officers. Having unleashed in the spring of 1961 terror in Algeria and France, the OAS had to call it off in June 1962 in view of the exodus from Algeria of Europeans scared by its activities. During the referendum on July 1, 1962, 99 per cent of Algerians (including the remaining Europeans) voted for the country's independence.

The overcoming of the postwar devastation, aggravated by OAS terror, was accompanied by radical changes in the whole

of life of Algerian society, the eradication of tough consequences of the colonial regime. In spring 1962 a spontaneous movement got under way to establish workers' management at the enterprises and farms abandoned by the European owners who had fled the country. The initiative of the masses was legitimised by a number of decrees of the first independent Algeria's government, adopted in the period from October 1962 to October 1964, when a blow was also dealt at the local collaborationists and speculators. The country's best lands that yielded at that time up to two-thirds of all agricultural production were controlled by the workers' management sector. Many industrial and commercial enterprises, as well as transport facilities, were also turned over to this sector.

The establishment of enterprises based on public property was most intensive under the Revolutionary Council headed by Houari Boumediene (1965-1978). May 1966 witnessed the nationalisation of coal pits, ore mines and insurance companies. In 1967-1968 the state came into possession of the major part of banks and industries (except oil) formerly under foreign control. In 1968-1969 the system of self-rule was streamlined and its consolidation in Algeria was greeted by Boumediene as "a victory of collectivism over the elements of private property". In 1970 an offensive was launched against the positions of 99 foreign companies still remaining in the country (out of 2,000 in 1962). The share of foreign capital in Algeria's economy went down from 53 per cent in 1969 to 14 per cent in 1972. Seventy foreign companies remained as mixed enterprises only, with the majority of shares held by the state sector of Algeria.

By 1974 the state sector controlled over 92 per cent of industrial production. The involvement of the working people in the management of the state sector is of great importance in conditions of intensive industrialisation (during 1962-1980, 660 new enterprises were commissioned) and the existence of the private sector making progress in "small" production (in some branches its output increased during 1969-1978 by 28 per cent annually and in 1979 equaled 22 per cent), in commerce and services.

In 1971 a law on the agrarian revolution was adopted, providing for the transfer of land from the state funds, as well as the excessive land belonging to big owners and absentees, to landless and land-starved peasants (in the first place to veterans of the revolution). By October 1961 a 1,500,000 hectares of land was turned over to the fund of the agrarian revolution; 93 per cent of which was distributed among 97,000 peasants united in six cooperatives, partly set up anew on waste lands or newly developed lands. Here new settlements sprang up, so-called "socialist villages". By the autumn of 1981, 356 such villages were settled or almost completed for settlement. Also created (in the south of the country) were the first cooperatives of cattle breeders in the desert areas and palm-growers in the oases.

There are still many problems in the village awaiting solution, however. The state has confiscated no more than 44 per cent of the lands subject to nationalisation, and only about half of the 203,000 peasants having the lawful right to allotments have already been satisfied. Over 60 per cent of self-dependent rural dwellers are only partly employed, i. e., either have no land or have too little. Therefore the law allows the "hire of auxiliary labour force", which benefits the rural bourgeoisie that has considerably grown in recent years.

This is worth elaborating on. Engaged in profitable production of foodstuffs, the rural bourgeoisie speculates on the leadership's striving to get rid of food imports and attempts to "fit into" the 1980-1981 measures taken in this connection by the government. And though the December 1981 Plenum of the NLF CC stressed that the private sector must only supplement the state sector, not replace it, private capital "demonstrates a dynamism which can grow into expansionism". What's more, there was noted "a strengthening of political links between the new capitalist class and the Western powers". This is also manifest in the support by imperialist spe-

cial services for the Berber particularists (both in Algeria and Morocco), in their use of Islamic extremists, whose provocations have been repeatedly condemned by the Algerian press as "inspired from abroad under the cover of religious zeal and hypocritical piety".

Of late imperialism has stepped up its pressure to change the character of Algerian revolution. Most graphic evidence in this respect is provided by US monopolies' blackmail against the foreign policy course of revolutionary Algeria that has long been irritating these monopolies. Algeria has always come out against imperialism, in defence of the sovereignty of young states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for the removal of hotbeds of international tension and for the strengthening of nonalignment. At the start of this decade the US resorted to breaking off long-term contracts on supplies of liquid gas as one of its ploys against Algeria.

Encouraged by external support and interpreting in their own way the 1980 campaign for the profitability of the state sector, the Algerian right-wing forces are attempting to boost the private sector and limit the cooperation process in the village and workers' participation in the management of factories. They succeeded, in particular, in the adoption in June 1983 of a law on the privatisation of state steppes and semi-desert lands. They also come out vehemently against the "alien elements", meaning Algerian Marxists who support all progressive changes in Algeria and have done a lot for their realisation, having actively worked since 1962 in the workers' and youth movements. The removal in 1981-1982 of many progressives (including Marxists) from leading positions in mass public organisations bespeaks a complex situation in the country, the attempts by the right to subvert the cooperation of the supporters of Algeria's socialist orientation.

Thus, the 30-year-old Algerian revolution has all along been an uphill struggle. Even if in 1954-1962 priority was given to its military forms and in subsequent years to political and economic forms, this struggle has never lost its social meaning. It grew deeper with every new phase of the revolution, ever enriching and making more mature the ideology of Algerian revolutionaries. The Tripoli programme, that in June 1962 replaced the Soummam agreements, sharply criticised the bourgeoisie and voiced the belief of the NLF fighters in the existence of close ties "between the popular character of the liberation struggle against colonialism and a socialist character of the new society to be created". In the next programme document of the NLF—the Algiers 1964 Charter—a greater stress was laid on anti-capitalism and generalised experience of workers' management. The national referendum in June 1976 approved the National Charter. Socialism in Algeria, it says, gives expression to the profound sentiments of the working people and is enriched by the experience of world socialism.

On the whole, this document confirms Algeria's socialist orientation, summing up its rich and original experience. The Charter declares state property to be the highest form of public property and sees the guarantee from the restoration of capitalism in "the basic means of production being placed henceforth in the hands of society and managed in the interests and with the participation of the working masses".

Algeria's progressive course of continuing revolutionary changes and opposing imperialist aggressive policy has been consistently supported by the Soviet Union ever since the 1954-1962 liberation war. Right after the war, complying with the request of the Algerian government, the Soviet Union sent to Algeria engineers and economists that helped restore 30 enterprises of the state sector, besides doctors and geologists. In the first years of its independence Algeria received from the Soviet Union one fourth of all credits for industrial development. Soviet sappers defused over 1.5 million mines planted during the war by the French military. By 1981 about 100 projects—factories, mines, power stations, hospitals, schools and colleges, irrigational projects—had been completed in Algeria with Soviet economic and technological assistance. In 1983, 650 Soviet doctors, 920 professors in universities and colleges, 840 specialists on the construction of a 660 km-long

gas pipeline worked in Algeria. The work of Soviet engineers, land-reclamation experts and geologists is highly valued in Algeria.

Chadli Bendjadid, President of the APDR, General Secretary of the NLF Party, during his visit to the USSR in June 1981 noted "the great possibilities for achievements of our peoples that have learned to work together in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding".

Soviet people were with the people of Algeria during the difficult years of liberation. And today, during the complex transition from national liberation to social liberation, their support is unflagging.

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CSO: 1812/197

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET JOURNALIST RECALLS TEHRAN CONFERENCE OF 1943

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 85 pp 19-22

[Article by Valentin Berezhev: "At That Time in Iran"]

[Text]

The author of these memoirs is Valentin Berezhev, member of the USSR Union of Writers, Editor-in-Chief of the scientific and socio-political monthly *USA: Economy, Politics, Ideology*, brought out by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the USA and Canada Studies.

For a long time V. Berezhev was in the diplomatic service. In the autumn of 1940 he took part in the talks between the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs V. M. Molotov, Hitler and Ribbentrop in Berlin. During the War he was a member of Soviet delegations at several international meetings, including the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, the Teheran Conference and the Dumbarton Oaks (USA) Conference.

After the end of the war V. Berezhev took up journalism. As *New Times* magazine special correspondent he reported from many countries of Europe, Asia and America.

The Teheran Conference of the leaders of the three great powers, the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, which mapped out the road toward an early victory over fascist Germany, was one of the key events of the Second World War. The conference contributed to the consolidation of the anti-Hitler coalition and reassured the possibility of cooperation between countries with different political systems in settling international issues. Today, when enemies of peace plan a review of the Allies' wartime decisions, a reminder of past cooperation seems timely.

The following story is devoted to events around the Teheran Conference.

THE DECLARATION ON IRAN

In addition to documents devoted to the Allies' strategic plans of war against a common enemy and problems of postwar development, the Teheran meeting of the three leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition—Joseph Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill—held late 1943, adopted the Declaration on Iran. It noted that Iran had rendered considerable assistance to the Allies, "facilitating the transportation of cargo from overseas to the Soviet Union". The governments of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, the Declaration said, will henceforth render all possible economic assistance to Iran; they are united in their desire "to secure full independence and territorial inviolability of Iran".

The leaders of the three great powers thus positively evaluated Iran's role in the anti-Hitler coalition. But before Iran qualified for this place of honour in the anti-fascist front, it had taken a great deal of effort both by the three powers and Iran's progressives, who understood that the country's genuine national interests lay in the support for the coalition and the strengthening of goodneighbourly relations with the USSR.

The point is that from the late 1930s onward the policies of the Iran government headed by the old monarch Reza-Shah had been ever more obviously leaning toward Hitler's Germany. Although on 26 June 1941 Teheran declared its neutrality, it did practically nothing to prevent Germany's agents from using the country's territory for activities hostile to the USSR. This meant that Iran was clearly departing from its traditional policy of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with our country.

SCRAPPING UNEQUAL TREATIES

A few words about the history of Soviet-Iranian relations would be of interest. It is a matter of record that the October 1917 Revolution repealed all unequal agreements of the tsarist government, including those with Iran. In the note sent to the Iranian government on 14 January 1918 and 26 June 1919 the Soviet government spelled out the basic principles of its policy: the strengthening of friendly contacts with Iran and contribution to its prosperity. In line with these principles the Soviet government annulled Iran's debt to tsarist Russia along with the consular agreement, degrading for Iran and incompatible with its sovereignty, under which the jurisdiction of Iran's courts did not extend to Russian subjects in that country, and handed over to the Iranian people without compensation a number of enterprises built by Russia: the telegraph lines Meshhed-Sehistan and in the Astrabad district, the Evzeli-Teheran highway and other roads built by Russia in 1914-1918, the Evzeli port facilities and other installations. The Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 26 February 1921 gave legal force to this new dimension of Soviet-Iranian relations.

Article 6 of the Treaty said: "The Two High Contracting Parties have agreed that in the case of any third country's attempts by way of armed intervention to conduct in Persian territory a policy of conquest or turn Persia's territory into a base for military activities against Russia, if this poses a threat to the frontiers of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic or its allied powers and if the Persian government after a warning by the Russian Soviet Government is not in a position to avert this threat itself, the Russian Soviet Government will have the right to bring its troops into Persia's territory so as, in the interests of self-defence, to take necessary military measures. After the removal of this threat the Soviet government commits itself to immediately withdraw its troops from within Persia's boundaries."

For 20 years there was no need to invoke this article, whose complete text we have decided to quote on purpose. However, by the summer of 1941 the situation changed drastically, for after Hitler Germany's attack on the Soviet Union groups of German agents stepped up their subversive activities against the Soviet Union. It was imperative to halt these activities and to prevent the transformation of this neighbour state into a springboard of aggression against the Soviet Union, the Near and Middle East and ultimately India.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN AGENTS

Getting ready to attack the Soviet Union, Germany's high command implanted a broad network of secret agents in Iran with a tacit agreement of Reza-Shah. The nazis reckoned that on a cue from them the Shah would move his troops to the Caucasus to make contact with advancing German armies. Germany's secret agents in Iran were to prepare the ground for future military adventures. Losing themselves in crowds of refugees which spilled over into Iran after the beginning of the Second World War, nazi agents, whose activities were orchestrated by Germany's embassy in Teheran, spared no effort to send groups of saboteurs and terrorists to oil-producing areas in Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Central Asian Republics, and were busily preparing a military coup d'etat in Iran itself. The agents had vast arsenals of weapons and ammunition at their disposal. For example, in the vicinity of Miane in the country's north over 50 tons of explosives were waiting "for their hour". Mercenaries recruited from among local residents underwent secret military training in the outskirts of the country's capital. Scores of German intelligence agents worked at Iran's military enterprises under the guise of engineers and technicians. Most prominent among them were the SS officer Ortel who posed as a representative of a Krupp concern, the experienced German spy von Radanovic who operated under the cover of Director of the Siemens office, his deputy Kevkin, and Wolf of the German Intelligence in the north of Iran and on the Caspian coast who posed as an Iranexpress official in the town of Pahlavi. In large Iranian towns German agents set up fascist organisations and paramilitary detachments. The so-called German Legion was Wehrmacht's military arm in Iran. Seeing that its warnings were disregarded, the Soviet government was obliged to take the necessary steps and to exercise its right under Article 6 of the 1921 agreement, providing for a temporary sending of troops to Iran's territory in self-defence. In doing so the Soviet government stressed that it was not going to encroach upon Iran's territorial integrity and national independence. The measures taken were directed exclusively against the danger posed by German agents' activities in Iran. As soon as the danger was eliminated the troops would be withdrawn from the country.

THE SOVIET-BRITISH AGREEMENT

During the 27 June 1941 talks between the then People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs V. Molotov and Britain's ambassador to the USSR Cripps the Soviet side suggested that a situation had emerged in which it would be desirable to enshrine mutual assistance in the war "by some agreements on a certain political footing". Cripps replied that in his view the two governments must pursue a common policy toward Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.

On 8 July the Iran question was again touched upon in the talk between the head of the Soviet government J. Stalin and Britain's ambassador. Stalin drew the ambassador's attention to the large number of Germans in Iran and Afghanistan, noting that they "will do harm to England and the USSR". Stalin asked Cripps what measures were necessary in his view in order to expel the Germans from Iran and Afghanistan. Cripps answered that Britain had made a representation to Iran to that effect. As far as Afghanistan was concerned, Cripps went on to say, he had been told by Afghanistan's ambassador that apart from the German mission in Kabul there were practically no Germans in the country. Stalin stressed that the danger existed both in Iran and Afghanistan, and added that the Soviet government paid attention to this fact especially as far as Iran is concerned, because it feared for the Baku oilfields.

It is to be recalled in this connection that in the past London regarded goodneighbourly relations between the USSR and Iran established on Lenin's initiative with an unfriendly eye. British diplomacy did everything to mar these relations. London had a stake in retaining its privileges in Iran and defending the interests of the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company founded in 1909, because it was a tool of British influence in the country. The petroleum refineries and other installations of the company which used cheap labour of over 20,000 Iranian workers produced fabulous profits.

By the end of the 1930s Hitler's Germany became a dangerous rival of Britain. By the time of the Second World War Iran's trade with Germany reached 47.87 per cent of total Iranian exports and 42.09 per cent of its imports. The growth of trade between the two countries was accompanied, as we have already seen, by the massive infiltration of German secret agents and the stepping up of their subversive activities. For London the elimination of this German intelligence network would be equivalent to getting

rid of a dangerous competitor in the person of German capital. That is why Britain's politicians did not exclude the possibility of Anglo-Soviet cooperation in the settlement of the Iran problem.

After an exchange of views between Moscow and London and their agreement about a joint move, a demarche to the Iranian government to this effect was made by Britain. Since the Shah's government stubbornly refused to expel German spies and saboteurs from the country's territory, more resolute measures became necessary. According to an earlier agreement between Moscow and London it was decided to simultaneously move Soviet troops into Iran's north and British troops into its south.

Since the United States planned to ship a large part of war materiel, equipment and food to the Soviet Union along the trains-Iranian railway and highway the question arose about involving the US government in the developments in Iran. However, it was not right away that a common language was found. I was repeatedly present at the talks between Soviet Foreign Ministry officials and US ambassador Steinhardt who recommended to exercise restraint and patience and to abstain from drastic measures. Steinhardt assured that it was possible to come to an understanding with the Shah and that as soon as the Teheran's authorities grasped the situation they would expel German agents and establish close contacts with the Allies. The US ambassador was told by the Soviet side that the situation was far more difficult than it seemed to Washington. The relations between Iran's reactionary ruling elite and fascist powers had gone too far. The old Shah was an avowed admirer of Hitler and one could hardly expect him to change his attitude to Germany. What is more, transportation of war materiel through Iran's territory involved the overcoming of many problems. Firstly, the trans-Iranian railway and highway badly needed repairs and modernisation. Secondly, since the railway traversed deserts, mountains, valleys and other ragged terrain it was necessary to ensure the protection of cargo in transit. Most of the railway's 224 tunnels and over 4,000 bridges were situated in areas whose population was hostile to the central government. In addition, some of the sheikhs were in the pay of Germany's agents. On instructions from the German intelligence service they could blow up tunnels and bridges and intercept cargoes destined for the Soviet Union. Even given goodwill, the Iranian authorities were in no position to ensure the security of traffic on the trans-Iranian railway.

THE EXPANSIONIST DESIGNS OF THE USA

What stood behind this position of the US ruling quarters? The answer is that already at the time Washington was searching for ways to increase American presence in the Persian Gulf area. The bringing of Soviet and British troops into Iran could stand in the way of these plans.

When Washington began putting its plans into effect in early 1942, US specialists were attached as advisers to the headquarters of Iranian police. Soon American advisers were to be seen in many other Iranian agencies.

The activities of US advisers in Iran were supervised by General Patrick Harley, President Roosevelt's personal envoy. Upon his arrival to Teheran Harley put forward the idea of an "independent" US policy in Iran, to avoid cooperation with the Russians by all means and, if necessary at all, to coordinate US moves with the British, but with the US taking the lead. However, at the insistence of the Soviet side Washington had to suspend the activities of a US intelligence group in northern Iran where units of the Red Army had been stationed.

General Harley was quite consistent in his political views. In addition to advocating an "independent" line, he also tried to persuade Washington officials that the USA was to play a decisive role in the setting up of "enlightened" governments in Iran and other Middle East countries (that is, governments that would take their orders from the USA). It was at that time that the foundations of diplomacy which evolved into the postwar expansion of the United States in the region were laid.

Already at the time John Gernegan, the chief of the Near East Desk of the US Department of State, felt that the USA could play a more active role in Iran, "shape the destinies" of that country and "rescue" it from the Russians. As a result, the Near East Desk prepared a special document which claimed that Iran must become a "testing ground" capable of demonstrating the Allied Nations' readiness to assure equitable conditions for small nations. It was asserted that it was in the US interests to prepare a situation in which no great power could gain a firm footing in the Persian Gulf in the immediate vicinity of important American projects in Saudi Arabia.

It is noteworthy that several documents of the time stressed Washington's interest in a policy of "open doors" and "equal opportunities" in Iran. Given the clout of such a rich and powerful country as the USA (especially in comparison with Iran), the

objective behind these formulas was to secure unhampered access of US capital to the country and the region as a whole. In other words, the "open doors" concept concealed the US desire to win exclusive rights for itself in Iran.

THE FATE OF THE CONCESSION AGREEMENT

In this connection it would be of interest to recall the fate of a Soviet proposal. Made in the autumn of 1944 it was aimed at signing a concession agreement with Iran on the development of northern oilfields. The terms offered by the Soviet side were exceptionally favourable. The USSR committed itself not only to pay royalties to the government of Iran and certain agreed sums in lieu of taxes but also guaranteed minimum royalties. The concessioner also committed itself to supply the Iranian government and local population with oil products at low prices, to train large numbers of engineers, technicians and skilled workers for the country's petroleum industry and to build settlements, workshops, highways and other facilities.

The Soviet side also allocated funds for the health care of the concessions' workers and other employees, as well as their families and for the provision of sanitary facilities. The setting up of the concession would have helped irrigate vast areas around the oilfields and develop agriculture. The Iranian government was to retain the right of technical supervision over the concessioner activity, all facilities of which were to be turned over to Iran without compensation upon expiry of the concession's term. Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs S. I. Kavtaradze came to Teheran to conduct negotiations about the detailed terms of the concession agreement. At first the negotiations came along favourably. The Prime Minister of Iran promised his support. However unexpectedly the attitude of the Iranian side radically changed: it was decided to postpone the decision on the granting of the concession to the Soviet Union which amounted to a refusal. What stood behind this about-face?

Why did Iranian authorities turn down such a lucrative offer, whose acceptance, among other things, would have placed the relations between the two neighbouring states on a firm economic foundation?

In his book *The Origins of The Cold War in the Near East* published in 1980 American researcher Bruce Kuniholm notes that while negotiations with the USSR about the concession were in progress the Iranians consult-

ed the USA, asking the Americans to draw up for them a draft concession agreement with Moscow. Kuniholm asserts that the USA, which was interested only in the south Iranian oilfields, did not object to the Soviet concession in the north of the country. But, for some reason (the American scholar does not really explain why), after consulting the Americans the Iranian government broke off negotiations and decided against signing a concession agreement with the Soviet Union. Elsewhere in the book Kuniholm writes that protecting American interests in Iran involved its strengthening and support for the principles of the Atlantic Charter by that country. Both of the objectives ran counter to the Soviet interests in northern Iran. It is worth noting that at about the same time (on 1 November 1944) the US embassy in Moscow sent a note to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs which stated in somewhat vague terms that the American government "will not endorse any action which may mean unacceptable interference in Iran's internal affairs."

It is quite obvious that the USA had exerted gross pressure on Iran, recommending it to abstain from signing a concession agreement with the USSR. Already at the time Washington, situated thousands of miles from Iran, was planning to gain a foothold in this country bordering on the USSR. It is therefore not surprising that the US embassy in Moscow received an unambiguous instruction to regard the Soviet intention to obtain a concession in Iran as "inadmissible interference".

Such were the sources of Washington's policy which subsequently resulted in Iran's involvement in all sorts of adventures and its inclusion in the anti-Soviet military bloc. This policy also resulted in ever growing anti-American sentiment among Iranian public at large, eventually causing a political explosion in the country, the expulsion of its pro-American Shah and other upheavals which continue to this day.

A NEW SITUATION IN IRAN

But let us come back to the autumn of 1941. The smooth entry of Soviet and British troops in Iran was the first, albeit local, experience of joint action by the two anti-Hitler coalition members. However, London tended to overestimate the importance of this operation, despite its obviously momentous nature. Britain, which conducted no active military operations in Western Europe at the time, portrayed this joint move almost as "combat cooperation" with the Red Army. Britain's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden in his talk with the USSR

ambassador in London I. M. Maisky insisted that relations between Britain and the USSR for all practical intents and purposes had moved into a phase of military cooperation. Similar ideas can be discerned in the message of Britain's Prime Minister W. Churchill to the head of Soviet Government J. Stalin of 30 August 1941. Mentioning the Soviet-British action in Iran, Churchill said with pathos that it would be well for the whole world to know that the British and Soviet Armed Forces had really shaken hands.

Stalin did not share this euphoria. His answer bears witness to a much more sober view of things. He wrote to Churchill: "The Iranian affair has indeed turned out well. The joint action of British and Soviet troops has settled the matter. That is how it will be henceforth as long as our troops act jointly. But Iran is only an episode. The outcome of the war will be sealed certainly not in Iran."

Nevertheless, the presence of Soviet and British troops in Iran played its role, preventing the realisation of the nazis' aggressive schemes in the Middle East. When in the summer of 1942 Germany's troops succeeded in breaking through to the foothills of the Caucasus, the rear of the Red Army which was then fighting against Germany's Alpine divisions, had been secured. As a result of the German defeat in the Caucasus, the fascist high command had to abandon its plans of invading India.

When the Soviet troops entered northern Iran, diplomatic work in that country gained in importance. The most difficult period for the USSR Ambassador A. Smirnov and his staff was the time when the old Shah still remained on the throne. Refusing to harm the interests of his nazi friends, he continued to extend his protection to them. It was only after Reza-Shah's abdication and his departure to South Africa that the situation in Iran began returning to normal. The traditional friendly relations of the two neighbouring countries continued to develop in these new conditions. On 30 January 1942, the USSR, Great Britain and Iran signed a treaty which said that, concerned with the need to strengthen links of friendship and mutual cooperation between them, the USSR and Great Britain jointly and separately committed themselves to respect Iran's territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence. By signing the treaty the allied powers committed themselves to defend Iran with all means at their disposal against any aggression on the part of Germany or any other power. The treaty gave the Allied powers the right to keep troops on Iranian territory. Incidentally, the treaty stressed that the presence of these troops on Iranian territo-

ry was by no means equivalent to military occupation and that everything would be done to minimise its effect on the normal operation of Iran's administration and security agencies, economic life, normal movement of population and the observance of Iran's laws and regulations.

The 30 January 1942 treaty opened an important new page in the history of Soviet-Iranian relations. The telegram sent by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars J. Stalin to Iran's Chairman of the Council of Ministers M. Foroughi expressed firm confidence that new, allied relations between our two countries would reinforce links of friendship between the Iranian people and the peoples of the USSR and develop successfully in the interests of our countries.

ABORTIVE PLOT AGAINST THE "BIG THREE"

Despite all measures of the Allied and Iranian authorities, an underground German intelligence network continued operating in the country. Since Teheran had been chosen as the venue for the November 1943 meeting of the three great powers' leaders, appropriate services of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain were instructed to search out and neutralise the nazi agents.

Stalin suggested that for reasons of security it would be better for Roosevelt to stay in the Soviet Embassy for the time of the Conference. This was also convenient, because plenary meetings could be held directly in the president's residence, and Roosevelt could easily make it to the conference hall in his wheelchair. Since only a narrow street separated the vast Soviet embassy grounds enclosed within a high wall from the British Embassy, it could be easily blocked off

with high fences, for Churchill to walk to the meeting place. This dispensed with the need for the conference participants to make several rides a day (the US Mission was situated rather far from the Soviet and British Embassies) through Teheran's narrow streets, where they could become easy targets for nazi sharpshooters.

It had become known that German intelligence was preparing an assassination of the three Allied leaders or, failing that, the kidnapping of President Roosevelt. Responsibility for the operation, code-named "The Long Jump", was given by Hitler to Abwehr (military intelligence) chief General Kanaris and the SD head Kaltenbrunner. That Teheran was a possible venue for the Big Three meeting had been known to German intelligence, which had deciphered the US Navy's secret code, already in mid-September 1943.

Moscow had been informed about the plot by its own source: a special forces detachment led by experienced NKVD officers Dmitry Medvedev and Aleksandr Kukin, operating in the vicinity of the Ukrainian town of Rovno.

The Moscow conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain, which took place on 19-30 October 1943, pointed out that Iran had made a sizable contribution to the common victory over Hitler's Germany. The conference continued the discussion of the three powers' future relations with Iran. The results of the discussion were reflected in a declaration signed by the three countries' leaders. Once again the Soviet Union reasserted its position of long standing, which it maintains to this day, in favour of goodneighbourly relations with Iran.

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CSO: 1812/197

INTERNATIONAL

BOOK ON OIL AND GAS INDUSTRIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA REVIEWED

Moscow ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY in English No 2, Mar-Apr 85 p 64

[Review by G. Shabalina of book "Oil and Gas in the Countries of Southeast Asia" by A. A. Simonya, Moscow "Nauka", 1983, 239 pp]

[Text]

This monograph analyses the whole set of problems connected with the extraction, processing, marketing, and consumption of oil and natural gas in the non-socialist countries of Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Burma and Brunei. The introductory historical essay is devoted to foreign oil companies' penetration of these countries' economies and the emergence of the oil-extraction industry there in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

After the Second World War, as some Southeast Asian states became independent, their national sovereignty gained in strength. The author uses a vast pool of facts to describe the struggle waged by the governments of those states to liberate the oil and gas industry from foreign control, and to gradually consolidate national enterprises, mostly state-run enterprises.

It is well-known that the events of the last decade have added a political and strategic colour to the problems of energy resources. The stable flow of oil and oil products into Western countries has remained major problem for them. Meanwhile, oil is a vitally important source of economic development for newly-independent countries, too. These national governments spare no effort to form a com-

prehensive, modern oil and gas industry, from exploration to processing, and to create the most up-to-date branches of petrochemical and condensed natural gas production. The author gives examples of several countries and of the region as a whole.

Industrial diversification and the development of new, modern sectors, the author goes on to stress, is a step towards economic independence. But at this stage of strengthening national oil-and-gas industry the young states have to turn to foreign oil-producing companies, especially to transnational corporations, for additional capital investment, and high-quality technology. The book studies numerous instances of technological neocolonialism on the part of TNCs.

A. A. Simonya tried to take into account the domestic, regional, and global factors influencing the development of the oil-and-gas industry in Southeast Asia to a great extent. The contradictions in the sphere of energy which take place within the non-socialist world directly affect the interrelations between the newly-independent countries of the region and the main capitalists centres. Future conflicts of interest and the national governments' search for ways to defend their own interests are inevitable.

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NATIONAL

TADEVOSYAN REFUTES SOVIETOLOGISTS' VIEW OF NATIONALITY QUESTION

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 21 Nov 84) pp 103-107

[Article by F. Tadevosyan, doctor of philosophy and professor: "Truth and Lies About Ethnic Relations"]

[Text] The advantages of socialism in resolving the most complex social problems, against which capitalism is powerless, has long been evident in the realm of ethnic relations. The experience of our multiethnic country became the first experiment in the socialist resolution of the nationalities question. This is a great achievement of real socialism, with worldwide historical significance and a major progressive influence on modern-day liberation movements, on international relations and on the whole course of world development.

The historic achievements of socialism appear particularly significant against the backdrop of capitalism's inability to resolve the nationalities question, a problem of its own creation. This is attested to not only by the historic past (for example, the downfall of the "patchwork" Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the collapse of multiethnic colonial empires, including the so-called "British Commonwealth of Nations") but by present-day events as well: racial and ethnic discrimination against blacks, Latin Americans and American Indians in the USA, racism in the Republic of South Africa and in Israel, the serious exacerbation of interethnic contradictions in Canada, Spain, Belgium and other bourgeois countries, the many years of suppression of the rights of the people of Northern Ireland by British imperialism, discrimination against foreign workers in the countries of Western Europe etc.

Seeing a danger in the attractive power of communism and fighting for further "sovietological" research in the USA, the "Sovietologist" A. (Inkel's) sounded the alarm as early as the 1960's. He cautioned his superiors that ethnic relations and nationalities policy represent an important area of comparison between capitalism and socialism in the process of their peaceful ideological competition, particularly in the eyes of the peoples of newly independent countries. Therefore there is nothing surprising about the fact that the enemies of real socialism seek to discredit the historic experience of the solution of the nationalities question in the USSR. The more successes our country has attained in this area and the stronger the influence of its example has become, the more fiercely and cleverly anticommunists have lied about the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

To the above one should add that nationalism is one of the most widespread and insidious means of struggle in the arsenal of modern-day anticommunism. It is aimed at undermining the friendship among USSR peoples and dividing the countries of the world socialist system. Imperialism founds its hopes on the introduction of nationalistic views into the consciousness of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and on the introduction and inflaming of nationalistic vestiges in hopes of undermining the socialist system from within. Thus, the authors of the book "Nationalities and Nationalism in the USSR: The Soviet Dilemma", published in the USA, openly proclaim that "it is in the West's interests to join with Soviet nationalist movements (!) in hopes of undermining the internal stability of the Soviet regime." Therefore it is no coincidence that the nationalities question remains one of the hottest sectors in the struggle between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois ideology.

At the present stage in the struggle against the ideology of anticommunism over the question of the development of nations and ethnic relations, one of the basic directions consists of exposing attempts to distort the true nature of the nationalities question which our new social order inherited from the past; on this basis anticommunists deny the historical fact of its successful, definitive solution in the USSR. This anticommunist line pursues the goal, on the one hand, of belittling or totally ignoring the achievements of socialism in the nationalities question and, on the other, of creating the appearance of a "theoretical basis" for a crude distortion of the true picture of interethnic relations in our country and the perspectives for their development.

One of the basic and most characteristic theses of bourgeois sociology and political science is provided by the assertion that, somehow, the nationalities question and discord and alienation between peoples are caused by the nations themselves, in whose nature there is allegedly contained a "mysterious and ineradicable", "irrational" feeling of hostility and enmity toward persons of a different nationality. Such an "evil human nature" is declared without proof to be not only unknowable and beyond the realm of calculation and influence, but also unchangeable and eternal. Or in any case, not dependent upon the nature of the socioeconomic and political relationships which govern a society. Upon this basis one reaches the conclusion, widespread in bourgeois sociology, that so long as different nations and nationalities exist the nationalities question will exist as well. Not only has capitalism not resolved this problem and never will resolve it, they say, socialism will not either.

The class nature of such a stance is evident. It consists of hiding from the working masses the true nature of the nationalities question and the reasons for its origin and aggravation in capitalist countries, blaming nations themselves for international conflicts and at the same time presenting capitalism, which bears the responsibility for the situation, in a positive light. On the other hand, such a stance is aimed at discrediting the theory and practice of socialist internationalism, which were allegedly powerless when confronted with the "insolubleness" of the nationalities question and with the spontaneous growth of nationalism in the modern era. Consciously exaggerating the role of the ethnic factor (and particularly of nationalism) in social development, to the detriment of the social and class factor, they speak of an "explosion of

nationalism" and of the "all-powerful virus of nationalism", and of nationalism as "the dominant phenomenon of the 20th Century; at the same time they strive to present the situation as if the future belonged not to internationalism but to nationalism.

One cannot fail to see the theoretical groundlessness of this stance of bourgeois ideology. What is important here is that the nationalities question is by its nature not so much an ethnic problem as it is a sociopolitical one; its roots reach down into the socioeconomic relationships in a society. In this sense the nationalities question is not caused by nations themselves or by the ethnic differences between people, but rather by the political, economic and ideological conditions of a society in which the exploitation of one human being by another is inescapably accompanied by the exploitation of certain peoples by others, or more precisely, by their ruling classes.

Scientific socialism has always proceeded upon and continues to proceed upon the assumption that a genuine and consistent solution to the nationalities question is inseparable from a revolutionary socialist transformation of social life, and represents an inalienable and fundamental part of that transformation. The historic experience of the resolution of the nationalities question in the USSR and other socialist countries confirms this theoretical conclusion. The practical experience of real socialism repudiates better than any words the untruthful assertions of bourgeois ideology concerning the "nationalistic nature of the individual." In the USSR and other multiethnic socialist countries, generations of a new, socialist type have arisen which live and work amicably together; they are patriots and internationalists, and nationalism long ago ceased to represent the world view of any class or social stratum.

In their attempts to deny the successful solution of the nationalities question in the USSR, "Sovietologists" and "Kremlinologists" frequently employ the following tactic. Referring to the survival of nations and ethnic relations under socialism, they strive, without any basis whatsoever, to hide and obscure the fundamental difference in the nationalities question in its specific and historical makeup under capitalism and under socialism. No one disagrees that even in conditions of developed socialism the nationalities question must remain on the agenda. But at the same time one cannot fail to see that in conditions of developed socialism we are talking about resolving the nationalities question not in that historical sense in which we inherited it from the exploitative past, for this task has already been successfully resolved. Furthermore, it has been resolved totally and irreversibly. Today we speak of the solution to the nationalities question in a qualitatively different sense; this results from the simple fact of the multiethnic nature of our country and the necessity of completing the reshaping of the entire makeup of Soviet nations and ethnic relations on a consistently collectivist and internationalist basis.

The solution to the nationalities question in the USSR signifies the ending of oppression, strife, antagonisms and mistrust among peoples and the attainment not only of de jure but also de facto equality. It signifies that all of our nations and nationalities have joined together and achieved all-round progress,

the closest sort of unity and continued blending, that the ideology and policy of socialist internationalism has gained the victory in all areas of public life and that the interrelations between peoples, indestructible friendship and fraternal mutual assistance have become firmly established.

The content of the nationalities question in conditions of developed socialism is linked to the solution of tasks concerned with the perfecting of socialist ethnic relations, an all-round increase in the economic and spiritual potential of each ethnic republic and the harmonious utilization of this potential in the interests of the country as a whole. Therefore the following matters occupy the center of attention today in the nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, a state of all the people.

Firstly: careful accounting for and harmonious coordination of the interests of each nation and republic with the common interests of the whole Soviet people. Secondly: the further perfecting of productive and economic interaction among republics within the framework of a unified all-union economic complex based upon a broadening and deepening of the socialist division of labor between them and the specialization of their economies; this is particularly necessary in completing such tasks as the Food and Energy Programs, the development of the Non-Black Earth Region, the construction of the BAM and the putting into use of its surrounding zone etc. Thirdly: further strengthening of the inter-nationality union of workers, peasants and intelligentsia and an increase in the leading role of the working class within this union; this latter can be accomplished by perfecting the training of skilled worker cadres and efficiently utilizing the labor of the republics on an inter-nationality basis. Fourthly: ensuring of constant attention to the factor of the increase in the multiethnic nature of the population, specifically by means of the proper representation of all nationalities in Party and state organs and the satisfaction of the specific needs of non-native populations in the areas of language, culture and everyday life. Fifthly: all-round development and perfecting of the union and republic state system in indissoluble unity, on the basis of the further development of democracy and a combination of the principles of centralism and Soviet federalism. Sixthly: the location and utilization of new forms and methods for close and fruitful inter-nationality blending and the mutual enrichment of ethnic cultures. Particularly important and timely are the problems of raising workers' level of internationalist consciousness, perfecting their international and patriotic education, eradicating manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism and perfecting the forms and means of developing ethnic relations on the basis of an increase in the leading role of the CPSU in the scientific guidance of the blending of Soviet nations and nationalities.

One of the most profound and broad indications of the successful and definitive solution of the nationalities question in the USSR is the formation of a fundamentally new historical type of human community -- the Soviet people. In this community, which embodies the high level of social and inter-nationality unity and solidarity in Soviet society, the advantages of the socialist social order are reflected. It is no coincidence that this historical fact has become the object of crude falsehoods on the part of various imperialist ideologists and politicians.

One should note that the stance of bourgeois ideology and propaganda on this point has undergone a certain evolution. At first an attempt was made to cover up the fact of the formation of such a community and the corresponding theoretical conclusion reached in CPSU documents from the 1960's. When this proved to be unsuccessful they turned to distortion of the essence and nature of the Soviet people as a new social and inter-nationality human community and of the paths of its origin and development. Anticommunists seek to utilize the very fact of this community's formation as "confirmation" of the supposed rightness of old, annoying attacks on the nationalities policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state as, allegedly, a policy of "Russification", "forced assimilation", "denationalization" etc. When speaking of the perspectives for the development of the Soviet people, imperialist ideologists proclaim that it will be "communist in content and Russian in form."

To this end they permit conscious falsehood, in hopes that in the minds of laymen the concept of "people" [narod] will imperceptibly be switched with that of "nation" [natsiya]. Anticommunists deliberately call the unified and multiethnic Soviet people the "Soviet nation", a "Russian-speaking socialist nation", a "supernation", a "nation-state" etc. From this standpoint it is easier to portray the situation as if it were a matter of the liquidation of nations and nationalities in the USSR, and of the formation of a "unified Soviet nation" or the swallowing up of other nations and nationalities by the Russian nation.

In point of fact the Soviet people is not a nation and not an ethnic unit, but rather a multiethnic, inter-nationality and international human community made up of over 100 nationalities. The establishment and development of this community does not exclude, but rather presupposes the existence and progress of individual nationalities as structural elements of the higher community mentioned above: the Soviet people. In this sense the Soviet people represents an organic whole and a harmonious combination of the general and the particular, of the international and the national, not in opposition, but rather in complementarity to each other. That which is inter-nationality and all-Soviet is based upon nothing less than the flourishing of the ethnic element; this latter is to an ever greater degree made fertile by the inter-nationality element. In other words, the rapid flowering of ethnic cultures occurs with an indissoluble link to and close interaction with the development of an inter-nationality Soviet culture which is common to all Soviet nations and nationalities.

It is difficult for the enemies of communism to deny the outstanding achievements of our country in all areas of public life. For it is commonly known that during the years of Soviet power industrial production in the ethnic republics has increased many hundreds of times over. Once almost completely illiterate populace of these republics has attained today the highest indices of general educational level in the world. Finding it impossible to refute these indisputable facts, anticommunists begin to reason in the following manner: all right, all of this is really true, but has nothing to do with socialism, but is rather the result of the general economic and cultural progress of mankind, the scientific and technical revolution etc. For example, Canadian professor T. Rakovska- (Harmstown) tries to present this as "part of a general phenomenon of the 20th Century: the modernization of primitive societies."

But such subterfuges cannot save the apologists of imperialism, nor help them give a convincing reply to the logical question: why is the situation of peoples in former colonial and imperialism-dominated countries, along with that of many ethnic minorities in capitalist countries, by no means comparable to, for example, that of the peoples of Soviet Central Asia today? Less than seven decades ago their backwardness was no less and perhaps greater than in other countries.

"Sovietologists" of all descriptions pretend that they are concerned about the fate of the less numerous peoples and ethnic minorities in our country. They expound on the "suppression" of these peoples' rights, on the "disregard for ethnic interests, particularly of smaller peoples", on the "political rule by the Russian nation" etc. In order to disprove these malicious insinuations, let us examine just one aspect of the matter. Delegates to the USSR Supreme Soviet represent more than 60 nationalities, in the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics there are delegates from 71 nationalities and in local Soviets over 100 nationalities are represented. Meanwhile Russians, who make up more than 52 percent of the total population, are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet by less than 45 percent of all delegates.

The fact that less numerous nationalities, as a rule, are more strongly represented among delegates in Soviets than their share of the population would indicate is evidence of the democratic nature and genuine internationalism of our social and state system. In the USSR Supreme Soviet this is ensured by the existence of a special body, the Council of Nationalities. The situation is the same at other levels as well. Let us take as an example two small nationalities, the Evenks and the Veps (having, respectively, populations of 28,000 and 8,000 persons according to the 1979 census). They are represented by, respectively, two and one delegates in their republic Supreme Soviets and by 883 and 95 delegates in local Soviets. Both nationalities even have their own representatives in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Those nationalities whose ethnic state lies outside the territory of the USSR (these make up roughly 2 percent of the country's population) have their due representation in state organs as well. The Soviet Union long ago became the motherland of these people. They are represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet and among delegates to local Soviets, for example, there are more than 8,000 Poles, 4,300 Bulgarians, 2,400 Greeks, 1,500 Koreans, 1,500 Rumanians, 1,200 Uigurs, 500 Finns, 400 Kurds etc.

Such eloquent evidence of the genuine democracy in the USSR looks particularly impressive when viewed upon a background of, for example, what takes place in the USA. There, blacks, Latin Americans and American Indians make up about 20 percent of the population, but in the U.S. Congress they are represented by only 4 percent of all delegates, and those are exclusively wealthy blacks. Making up 12 percent of the country's population, blacks occupy less than one percent of elective offices.

The so-called "Jewish question" is often mentioned in the Western press and in quasi-scientific publications and the position of the Jewish nationality in USSR is crudely distorted; the existence of anti-Semitism in our country is falsely proclaimed.

But what do the real facts say? For over half a century now the Jewish Autonomous Oblast has existed in our country and has been successfully developing. Representing .7 percent of the USSR population, citizens of Jewish nationality make up 4.1 percent of specialists with higher education, 6.1 percent of scientific workers, 5.2 percent of workers in the arts, 6.5 percent of workers in literature and the press, 3.4 percent of medical personnel and 6.7 percent of our country's lawyers. Dozens of Jews have been elected as delegates to the USSR Supreme Soviet and to union and autonomous republic Soviets. Nine-tenths of Soviet Jews possess higher or secondary education, including more than a third with higher education. This is what socialism has done for Soviet Jews. Despite this, the well-known anti-Soviet R. Pipes tries to assure Western readers that Jews in the USSR "do not receive those opportunities in the area of education and culture which are available to the smallest and most culturally backward nationalities."

The ideologists and politicians of Zionism and anticommunism will never succeed in passing off the struggle of the USSR and other socialist countries and all progressive forces of the world against the aggressive imperialist policy of Israel's ruling classes as a manifestation of anti-Semitism.

When examining the present stage in the development of ethnic relations in the USSR, anticommunists love to present the ongoing process of the blending of Soviet nations and nationalities and the internationalization of their life as evidence that the CPSU and the Soviet state are conducting a policy of "artificial convergence of peoples", "liquidation of their ethnic values and traditions" etc. Thereby they permit the improper identification of the concepts of the "blending" [sblizheniye] and the "convergence" [sliyaniye] of nations, with the goal of imperceptibly replacing the former with the latter in the minds of laymen. Thence arises a series of false dilemmas of the following type: either Soviet or ethnic, either the flourishing of nations or their blending and convergence, either a unified Soviet people or separate nations and nationalities, either democratic centralism or federalism, either a unified interethnic Soviet culture or ethnic cultures, either Russian as a common language or national languages etc.

This manner of posing the question is fundamentally anti-scientific, for such dilemmas do not confront socialism in actuality; the internationalist nature of socialism ensures the dialectical unity and organic interrelation of the inter-nationality and the ethnic elements. In the USSR the blending of nations occurs by means of the all-round flourishing of each of them and this flourishing, in turn, is achieved thanks to the blending and fraternal cooperation of nations. Such is the dialectic of life in this matter, a dialectic which bourgeois critics of the development of ethnic relations in the USSR cannot -- or rather will not -- understand.

Internationalization in the life of peoples is an objective natural historical process, which will lead to a convergence of nations and nationalities only in the relatively distant future; at the present time it serves as a firm foundation for their flourishing and blending. Having put forth a new and fundamentally important thesis regarding the abolition of class differences in all important areas within the historical framework of developed socialism, the CPSU at the same time proceeds upon the assumption that the erasing of ethnic

differences, particularly language differences, is a significantly longer process than the erasing of class characteristics. It is therefore no coincidence that the present stage of development of ethnic relations in the USSR is characterized not as a stage of the convergence of nations (as imperialist propaganda would have it), but rather as a stage of their close unity, all-round flourishing and ever more complete blending.

Enemies of Soviet power have on more than one occasion predicted the death of our multiethnic state. This was the case after the October Revolution, when they claimed that V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, in proclaiming the right of nations to self-determination, had unleashed centrifugal forces beyond their control. This was the case in the years of the building of socialism when, after a visit to one of the multiethnic kolkhozes of Soviet Central Asia, the famous Lady Astor exclaimed: "Can it be that people of 12 nationalities can really get along when supping from a single bowl!" This was the case on the eve of the Great Patriotic War, when one of the oldest English newspapers, "The Daily Mail", predicted the inevitable disintegration of multilingual Russia in the very first serious military clash.

Today in the West there are not too many ideologists and politicians left who are prepared to seriously propose the real possibility of the imminent disintegration of the Soviet multiethnic state. But even those who do not believe this portray its prospects for development in gloomy terms. They feel that, along with the progress of nations and nationalities and the development of their economy, state infrastructure, culture, languages and consciousness, interrelations between peoples and between individual nations and central authority as well will inevitably worsen; this will lead to "strategic difficulties" for the CPSU and the Soviet government.

Of course, one cannot fail to see here attempts to pass off wishful thinking as reality. But in a theoretical sense such statements and calculations are based on the inadmissible identification of what is ethnic with what is nationalist, which is however characteristic of the majority of "Sovietologists." Therefore they portray the development of anything ethnic, particularly the flourishing of culture and the growth of peoples' ethnic consciousness under socialism, as a rise in nationalism, which will allegedly intensify in the future.

Meanwhile, that which is truly characteristic for capitalism is by no means inherent to socialism, where the development of the ethnic element in any sphere of community life takes place on an internationalist basis. The development of ethnic cultures, for example, occurs indissolubly linked to the reinforcement of their internationalist bases; the growth of ethnic consciousness is inseparable from the growth of the interethnic consciousness of the whole Soviet people. Often anticommunists attempt to find a source of future inter-nationality conflicts even in a simple change in the ethnic structure of USSR population, for example in the growth of the proportion of Central Asian peoples in the population.

This short excursion in the realm of bourgeois falsification of the Soviet experience in resolving the nationalities question testifies quite clearly to the crisis of bourgeois ideology on this point; the bourgeoisie, in the words

of V. I. Lenin, "everywhere and at all times has resorted to and will continue to resort to the most desperate lies and slander." As for our multiethnic state, it has withstood the tests of time and experience with honor. Like all of the world socialist commonwealth, our country today embodies truly internationalist, fraternal relations among peoples and serves as a model for future inter-nationality interrelations in the conditions of the worldwide triumph of the internationalist ideals of communism.

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CSO: 1800/156

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PHILOSOPHY DICTIONARY GETS CRITICAL BLAST FROM MGU FACULTY

Moscow VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA 7: FILOSOFIYA in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84) pp 62-84

[Article by V. N. Kuznetsov and Z. A. Tazhurizina: "The Discussion of 'Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'" [A Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary]]

[Text] A discussion of "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" [A Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary]¹ took place in 1983 in the Scientific Council of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University under the chairmanship of Professor A. D. Kosichev, dean of the faculty. Professors and instructors of the faculty, as well as scientists of other Moscow higher educational institutions and scientific research institutions took part in the discussion. The members of the main editorial board of "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" (FES) and of the editorial board of philosophy of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House, which directly prepared the dictionary, were invited to the discussion.

Primarily those articles on the history of pre-Marxist philosophy and on problems of the study of religion and ethics, the content of which did not completely conform to the tasks of the education of young people of higher educational institutions in the spirit of a scientific materialistic world outlook, were discussed at the meetings of the Scientific Council of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University.

The ideological and theoretical level of the articles, which were written for the sections "dialectical and historical materialism," "philosophical problems of the natural sciences," "scientific communism" and "logic," proved to be quite high.

Opening the discussion, Professor A. D. Kosichev said that the examination of new books, which are of significant scientific and pedagogical interest, is a part of the practical work of the council of the Philosophy Faculty. The recently published "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar" immediately interested the undergraduates and graduate students of the faculty, who during the period of the examination session frequently turn to it for the purpose of finding the latest reference material on various fields of philosophical knowledge. With respect to a number of articles of the FES the undergraduates

and graduate students turned to professors and instructors with the questions, how is the sharp difference of the content of these articles with what is written in our textbooks and in previously published philosophical dictionaries² explained and how should these innovations be treated. Since the FES is not an ordinary collective work and especially not a so-called search book, which advances interesting debatable assumptions and suggests their critical perception, but a publication which is standard in its purpose and from which readers expect an adequate expression of the present scientific understanding of the issues interpreted in it, we need to discuss this dictionary carefully and with the greatest possible thoroughness and to come to specific conclusions with respect to its different sections, first of all those which most of all arouse arguments. The professors and instructors of our 14 chairs have sufficient scientific forces to accomplish this task, which is vital for us and which at the same time, undoubtedly, is of the broadest public interest. The FES was published in an edition of 150,000 copies, while the number of its readers will be many times greater. Our task is to help the collective of authors and the editorial board in the improvement of this important publication on the basis of thorough scientific criticism.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. M. Kovalev, a member of the main editorial board of the FES, voiced the hope that the discussion would take place in a business-like manner and the recommendations and remarks expressed during it would aid the improvement of the dictionary during the period of the preparation of its second edition in conformity with the order of the Book Trade Association. The Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House regards the FES as an intermediate link between the first edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" [A Philosophical Encyclopedia], which was accomplished during 1960-1970, and its second edition, the work on the first volume of which has already been launched. The remarks on the FES will also be taken into account in this edition. Several professors and instructors of Moscow State University were enlisted in the work on the FES. But great teaching skill is insufficient for the successful performance of this work, an aptitude for scientific research is also needed. Encyclopedic articles have, moreover, their own specific nature, which it is difficult to master. The editors of the publishing house were obliged to ensure the preparation of high quality articles by a specific date, in this connection they had the right to select authors who would cope with the writing of the articles in the FES. For the editorial board the work on the book, in which there are about 2,000 articles which were written by approximately 350 authors, was extremely difficult.

During the discussion which developed all the speakers spoke about the fact that the need for the publication of an encyclopedic dictionary on philosophy was felt long ago and the aspiration of the Soviet Encyclopedia Public House and its philosophical editorial board to meet this need should be welcomed. The significant merits of the FES, the articles of which on the majority of issues are a step forward, giving as compared with preceding philosophical dictionaries (the size of the largest of them is one-third as great as the size of the FES, which comes to 159 printer's sheets) broader and more thorough knowledge, were noted. In comparison with "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" in the FES a number of new important conceptual terms, for example, "systems analysis," "social engineering," "ecological pessimism," "scientific and technical optimism," "scientific and technical progress,"

"post-industrial society," "the noosphere," "mass culture," "mass communication," "the theory of convergence," "the New Left," "conformism," "the way of life," "consumer society," "social expectations," "comprehensive sociology," "radicalism" and others, are covered.

Hereinafter in the presentation of the statements the additional opinions with respect to various sections of the FES and the critical remarks, which were expressed with regard to these sections, will be reported.

Professor V. N. Kuznetsov (Moscow State University) examined the treatment in the FES of the materialistic line of classical philosophy, first of all the initial stage of this line, which is represented by the teachings of the Milesian School (Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes) and Heraclitus. Up to now, he said, in our literature, starting with fundamental monographs and ending with all kinds of courses on the history of philosophy, including those approved as textbooks for undergraduates and graduate students of philosophy faculties, as well as with philosophical dictionaries and "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," the Milesians have been described as "the first naively materialistic and spontaneously dialectical school of ancient Greek philosophy" ("Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," Vol 3, Moscow, 1964, p 439), while Heraclitus was described as "a Greek materialist philosopher, who in a general, still naive form formulated a number of dialectical principles of existence and cognition" ("Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," Vol I, Moscow, 1960, p 352). The characterization of the philosophical essence of the views of the Milesians was based directly on the conclusions of Engels that "here elementary spontaneous materialism already comes fully into view before us" and that "the ancient Greek philosophers were all born, spontaneous dialecticians" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, pp 502, 19). In the works of Soviet historians of philosophy--M. A. Dynnik, V. F. Asmus, F. Kh. Kessidi, A. N. Chanishev and many others--the materialistic and dialectical nucleus of the views of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes and Heraclitus has been covered in detail on the basis of much factual material. Both for the classics of Marxism-Leninism and for the Soviet philosophy scholars, who base themselves on their theoretical heritage, this interpretation of the essence of the world outlook of the named ancient Greek thinkers was confirmed in the pointed dispute with various idealistic concepts of the history of philosophy, first of all with Hegelian concepts, and it was an enormous achievement of research thought which is equipped with dialectical materialistic methodology.

In the corresponding articles of the FES neither Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes nor Heraclitus is qualified as a philosopher of the materialistic trend, although the testimonies of ancient authors, which are cited in these articles, frequently directly require such a classification, for example, the words of Aristotle about the Milesians as thinkers who accept "principles only in the form of matter" (FES, p 713). The spontaneously dialectical nature of the views of the Milesians is also not revealed. Moreover, the assertion that "the fundamental role of binary oppositions and analogies is characteristic of the method of Anaximander" (ibid., p 22), prompts one to see in this Milesian philosopher rather a forerunner of the structuralistic methodology, which is distinguished by an especial nondialectical nature. In the quite long article on Heraclitus the word dialectics is encountered once, and in such a context

which not only does not reveal the materialistic essence of the dialectical world outlook of Heraclitus, but also suggests the idea of an idealistic nature of this world outlook: Heraclitus is characterized as a philosopher "who attempted to define the unified objective logical law (dialectics) which is the basis of any process and state" (ibid., p 110). The words that "Heraclitus is the first Greek philosopher who went beyond purely natural philosophical notions of the mysticism of numbers" (ibid.) give an absolutely incorrect idea about the natural philosophy of the Milesians who preceded Heraclitus chronologically, which in reality did not contain a trace of "the mysticism of numbers."

The high quality of the articles on the Milesians and Heraclitus in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" was ensured first of all by the fact that they were written by such qualified authors, who had previously published fundamental works on ancient Greek philosophy, as F. Kh. Kessidi, A. O. Makovel'skiy and A. F. Losev. Nothing prevented, having abridged and updated these articles, their publication in the FES. The death of A. O. Makovel'skiy did not present insurmountable obstacles for this: in the FES many articles belong to deceased authors, who upon being transferred to it from "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" even in a strange manner supplanted (and with detriment to the work) researchers who had collaborated fruitfully in it (thus, whereas M. F. Ovsyannikov wrote a very substantial article for "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," the weaker article on Hegel of the late E. V. Il'yenkov was published in the FES).

The bibliography to the articles of the FES on Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes and Heraclitus is drawn up entirely unsatisfactorily. Of the literature in Russian only the works of the authors themselves of the articles of the FES, which for the most part reduce to one or two publications in nonphilosophical journals and linguistic collections, are presented in it. For the reader of the FES such a bibliography cannot but create the impression of the extreme poverty of our historical philosophical literature, which is intensified by the fact that in this bibliography there are many works of foreign authors (there is not one Marxist work among them). It is totally incomprehensible why only publications in Greek, German and Latin are named as collections of fragments of the Milesians and Heraclitus and testimonies about them. The reader is not given the necessary information concerning the fact that these fragments and testimonies can also be studied in Russian, moreover, they have been published more than once (those pertaining to Heraclitus, for example, have been published six times!) and in different translations.

With some corrections similar remarks can also be made with regard to the articles on Anaxagoras and Empedocles, which in the FES also excluded these ancient Greek philosophers from among the representatives of the materialistic line, their affiliation with which was convincingly shown in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" by A. F. Losev and A. O. Makovel'skiy.

If we believe the personal data of the FES, materialism appears in classical philosophy for the first time in the teaching of Democritus and then finds expression only in the teachings of Epicurus and Lucretius. Moreover, only the article on Epicurus begins with an essential definition which is so necessary for an encyclopedic publication: "an ancient Greek materialist

philosopher." These articles are definitely better than those on the preceding representatives of the materialistic line, but the decrease of the ideological and theoretical level as compared with "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" is also noticeable in them.

An essential shortcoming of all the articles of the FES on the classical materialists is the glossing over or at least the veiling of the atheistic orientation of their world outlook. Although the material already available in the articles concerning the fact that these thinkers undermined mythology, strove to root out the fear of the gods, denied divine providence and considered the gods to be innate material original elements, gives adequate grounds for their qualification as representatives of developing atheism. The authors do not give such a classification--but it is important in principle from the point of view of Marxism. The only obstacle to this is the fact that from Thales to Lucretius all the classical materialists formally recognized the existence of gods, and in the articles of the FES attention is concentrated in every way on this fact. The lack of the revelation of the atheistic essence of the world outlook of the classical materialists (it is a question precisely of the essence, which it is impossible to reveal given the descriptive textological "methodology" which is characteristic of the authors) with the simultaneous emphasis of their assumption of the existence of "gods" plays into the hands of the theological conception (which was developed during the first centuries of our era by the apologists of Christianity and is now being intensively promoted in modernized form), according to which all classical philosophy is in its essence a search for the "true" God, whom it itself, it is true, does not comprehend, but by its coming out against "pagan" polytheism and assertion of a higher "divinity" prepares the mind for the acceptance of Christian monotheism.

Similar shortcomings are found in the articles of the FES "Patristic Studies" and "Scholasticism," which are devoted to the next lengthy period of existence of philosophy. A Marxist approach to the understanding of the genesis and subsequent existence of medieval philosophy is not revealed in them (the absence of a generalizing article on the latter as a whole is a serious flaw). It is noteworthy that the most substantial book of V. V. Sokolov "Srednevekovaya filosofiya" [Medieval Philosophy] (Moscow, Vysshaya shkola, 1979), which was written from a pronounced Marxist position and has been approved by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education as a textbook for undergraduates and graduate students of the philosophy faculties of state universities, was not included in the bibliography of these articles (just as nearly all the other articles on medieval thought and its representatives). Instead of this the bibliography of the article "Patristic Studies," for example, recommends to the readers of the FES the following literature of a theological nature, which "satisfies present scientific requirements": V. V. Bolotov, "Lektsii po istorii drevney tserkvi" [Lectures on the History of the Ancient Church], Vols 1-4, St. Petersburg, 1907-1918; A. Garnak, "Istoriya dogmatov..." [The History of Dogmas...], St. Petersburg, 1911; A. A. Spasskiy, "Istoriya dogmaticheskikh dvizheniy v epokhu vselenskikh soborov" [The History of Dogmatic Movements During the Age of the Ecumenical Councils] (Vol 1--"Trinitarnyy vopros" [The Trinity Issue]), Sergiyev Posad, 1914. Of Soviet publications only one book on Byzantine esthetics, which to no extent reveals the essence of patristic studies, is included in the

bibliography. The manifestations of materialism in medieval philosophy proved to be hidden in the articles of the FES, which were devoted to it. Moreover, philosophical problems proved in many ways to be excluded from these articles in favor of exclusively theological issues.

The tendency to theologize philosophy and to supplant philosophy with theology also appears in other parts of the historical philosophical section of the FES. In the FES there is no article on the philosophy of the Renaissance, but there is a large article on the religious church transformation which occurred during this era--the Reformation. In many personal data on the thinkers of the Renaissance the antitheological, antischolastic orientation of their views, as well as the most progressive significance of the latter in the matter of freeing philosophy from the dictates of theology, which had suppressed it, are not revealed. V. V. Sokolov, who actively collaborated in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" and is the author of the thorough Marxist study and at the same time the authoritative textbook "Ocherki filosofii epokhi Vozrozhdeniya" [Studies in the Philosophy of the Renaissance Era] (Moscow, Vysshaya shkola, 1962), proved to be dismissed from the writing of a large number of articles on Renaissance thinkers, while his book was not included in the bibliography of the majority of them. As a result in the article on Nicolaus Cusanus, which was written in the FES by a new author, the pantheism, which is characteristic of this most prominent Renaissance thinker, and together with the latter practically the entire philosophical content proper of his world outlook were not reflected, and he appeared to the readers of the FES as an uninteresting theologian. The materialistic pantheism and nearly the entire philosophical content from the world outlook of Goethe, as it is described in the corresponding personal data of the FES, evaporated in similar fashion under the pen of a new author.

Soviet philosophy scholars have every reason to express serious anxiety with regard to the enumerated shortcomings and to insist that in the new edition of the FES they would be eliminated and would also not undergo further development in the second edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya."

Docent Z. A. Tazhurizina (Moscow State University), who expressed the opinion of the Chair of the History and Theory of Atheism, noted that the success of pedagogical and educational work at the higher educational institution depends on the scientific and philosophical quality of reference publications. Back in 1973 in the collection "Voprosy nauchnogo ateizma" [Problems of Scientific Atheism] (Issue 14) the shortcomings of a methodological nature in the articles of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" on the problems of religion and atheism were revealed. In the FES they were not overcome and, perhaps, were aggravated. The errors, which are being identified in the organization and selection of reference material, in the ideological content of a number of articles and in the bibliography to the articles, adversely affected the level of philosophical information in the FES.

First of all the disproportion in the sizes of individual articles of the FES is conspicuous: thus, the size of the key articles of the atheistic section, which were written at a quite satisfactory scientific level ("Atheism," "Religion," "Free Thinking," "Speculation"), is intolerably small as compared with the size of the articles on religious trends, theologians and terms,

which were covered from a noncritical standpoint. Thus, the article "Atheism" takes up half as much space as the article "Christianity," but atheism is a significant sociocultural phenomenon, which is characteristic of different peoples during different eras, while Christianity is just one of the religions. The articles "Free Thinking" and "Speculation" in size are one-third as large as the article "Buddhism" and are equal to the article "Hesychism." What V. N. Kuznetsov said with regard to the more than strange attitude in the FES toward materialism, can also be noted in case of the comparison of the sizes of the articles "Natural Scientific Materialism" and "Spontaneous Materialism" with the size of the articles "Summa Contra Gentiles," "Summa Theologiae" (Thomas Aquinas) and "Preexistence"--they are approximately equal. Such a disproportion is far from harmless: the small size of the articles, which reveal concepts which are essential for the explanation of the historical philosophical process, does not make it possible to cover them properly and creates the impression of their insignificance as compared with third-rate theologians and their works.

The somewhat one-sided selection of terms is one of the oversights of the publishers of the FES. Having excluded several important concepts and names, which are important on the philosophical level, including those which are present even in the small dictionaries published by the Political Literature Publishing House, they included in it many trivial names and concepts, which are frequently very far removed from philosophy.

The special course "Free Thinking and Atheism in the History of Spiritual Culture" is given in the Chair of the History and Theory of Atheism. The undergraduate, having turned to the FES, will find that the role of atheism in the history of culture was entirely negligible: for many figures of free thinking are simply not in the encyclopedic dictionary! This led to a shortage of philosophical information and to the distortion of the world historical philosophical process. Indeed: Luther, Calvin and Melancton are in the FES, but T. Munzer, as well as the article "The Peasant War in Germany" of Engels are not; there are the medieval theologians and mystics Grigoriy Bogoslov [Gregory the Theologian], Vasilii Velikiy [Basil the Great], Maksim Isповедnik [Maxim the Confessor], Bernard de Clairvaux and so on, but there are no free thinkers, fighters against orthodox scholasticism, anticlerics, such as, for example, Lucian, Celsus, Jan Hus, Leonardo da Vinci, [Amal'rik Benskiy], Lorenzo Vaila, [Uriel Dacosta]; there are Bishop Bossuet, Joseph de Maistre and Swedenborg, but there are not the critics of religion, atheists and utopian socialists Godwin, Babeuf, Blanqui, Marechal, Volney, Shelley, Huxley and Charles de [Brossa], on whose works Marx based himself. There are a large number of minor idealists, bourgeois psychologists and sociologists, but there are not the modern figures of atheism C. Lamont, [G. Lay] and [G. Duclaux]. There are the concepts "Sin" and "Preexistence," but no room was found for the articles "Monotheism," "Polytheism," "Clericalism," "Anticlericalism" and "Fanaticism," in which the most essential traits of the spiritual phenomena connected with religion would have been revealed from a Marxist standpoint. In the FES the orthodox Christian line is depicted quite thoroughly, but all heresies: both Russian and European, slipped their mind. The article "Heresy" contains only 14 lines, and it is not even mentioned in it that heretical movements expressed a social protest against the domination of the secular and ecclesiastical feudal lords. There is also no bibliography

in it, although for the articles on the church fathers there is a bibliography of five or six books, mainly of an apologetic nature.

In the FES domestic free thinking is also impoverished: here it is possible to find out about Nil Sorskiy and Hesychism, but it is difficult to obtain information on domestic free thinking of the 14th-18th centuries. For, with the exception of M. V. Lomonosov, A. N. Radishchev and several others, we will not find either Feodosiy Kosoy, Matvey Bashkin, Ivan Peresvetov or the Russian enlighteners I. P. Pnin, V. N. Tatishchev, S. Ye. Desnitskiy and others. In the FES the conservative and reactionary line in Russian philosophy--I. V. Kireyevskiy, A. S. Khomyakov, K. N. Leont'yev, N. Ya. Danilevskiy and the back-to-the-soil movement--is reflected, but nothing is said about such fighters against the autocracy and orthodoxy as N. P. Ogarev, N. A. Serno-Solov'yevich and T. S. Shevchenko; Russian religious philosophers of the late 19th and 20th centuries and representatives of volte-face-[movement] N. A. Berdyayev, S. N. Bulgakov, Princes Ye. N. and S. N. Trubetskoy, S. Frank, I. A. Il'in and the Machist A. A. Bogdanov, who is described in the most glowing tones--are widely represented; but there are not A. V. Lunacharskiy, Ye. M. Yaroslavskiy, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov and others. There is the idealist L. Lopatin, whom Lenin criticized (about which, incidentally, there is no mention in the article), but there is not German Lopatin--the first translator of "Das Kapital" of Marx into Russian and a spreader of Marxism in Russia.

Is what there "is" in the FES bad? Of course, it would be possible only to welcome the presence in the FES of names and terms which broaden the outlook of the reader (incidentally, many new articles, which were written at a modern scientific level and record the present state of philosophical and sociological thought, were inserted in the FES). But here the progressive line in the development of philosophy should not be impoverished. Of course, the size of the dictionary is limited and it is very difficult to present in it the line of free thinking in all its details. But then it is not clear, why was so much space in the FES assigned to the activity of religious philosophers? Why in the article, for example, on S. Bulgakov was his life described in detail: where he was born and buried, from what kind of family he came, when and where he studied and worked, when he was ordained a priest, when he became the director of a theological institute, while his theological works "Agnets Bozhiy" [The Lamb of God], "Nevesta Agntsa" [The Bride of the Lamb], "O Bogochelovechestve" [On God-Mankind], "Iupina Neopalimaya" [The Burning Bush], "Lestvitsa Iakovlya" [Jacob's Ladder] and so on are listed in the bibliography.

Further, a large number of narrowly specialized religious terms, primarily of eastern religions--Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Confucianism, which were covered in a noncritical manner, were included in the FES. If they are to be consistent, in the FES it was also necessary to include the Christian terms "Trinity," "God-Man," "incarnation" and so on, for here there are "purusha," "tapas" and "karma." Karma is called "one of the central concepts of Indian philosophy." But in the definition of this concept, first, its religious meaning is not identified and, second, the concept of Indian philosophy, which was not uniform in antiquity, is not specified: it is well known that there were schools which reject the idea of karma. By the way, in the FES there is no article "Indian Philosophy," which is present even in the concise

dictionary of the Political Literature Publishing House, which in many ways can be an example of the correct methodological attitude toward the organization of the material and toward the content of the articles. In the FES, apparently, the articles "Buddhism," "Mahayana" and "Hinayana" replace this article. And here a question of the methodological level arises: How legitimate is the inclusion of religious terms in a philosophical reference work? Of course, a philosophical reference work cannot do entirely without the clarification of the most essential religious trends and concepts if only because such a specific type of philosophy as religious philosophy exists. But information on religion is the affair of atheistic reference works. The generalizing articles "Monotheism," "Polytheism," "Clericalism" and "Fanaticism," for which space was not found in the FES; articles on religious concepts, which are substantiated from a philosophical idealistic standpoint: creationism, theism, providentialism, theodicy--on the condition of their scientific materialistic interpretation; articles on concepts of religion, which find reinterpretation in some philosophical teachings or others and are an object of philosophical criticism (on the concept of God, for instance), are appropriate in a Marxist philosophical reference work. The excessive broadening of the sphere of religious terminology decreases the philosophical information content of the dictionary.

In a number of articles of the FES the social significance of religious phenomena is not revealed, a scientific appraisal of their role in spiritual and social life is not given. Thus, the concept "faith," which is illegitimately narrowed to religious faith, is presented in the FES in a one-sided, impoverished form. Contemporary Marxist studies in the area of epistemology, in which the concept "faith" has been elaborated quite thoroughly, are not taken into account in the article--these studies are not even in the bibliography to the article. It is well known that Hume approached the phenomenon of faith from a philosophical standpoint, having posed the question of its different forms. In the article in question it is difficult to find a philosophical approach to the phenomenon of faith, not to mention its critical interpretation. In the article "God" the ideas of God in various religions are described. Such information is necessary, but inadequate for a philosophical dictionary. In "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" it was supplemented with material which contains criticism of the proofs of the existence of God. Apparently, in a philosophical reference work it is advisable to show how this concept was interpreted in philosophy--in deistic, pantheistic and ethical teachings; what the basic lines of criticism of the idea of God in the history of philosophy were. The article on the Bible is of a purely descriptive nature; neither the social significance of this book nor its role in the history of spiritual life and in the present struggle of world views was revealed in it. And the main thing is that the role of philosophy in the analysis of the essence of the Bible and the struggle of philosophy against its theological interpretation were not shown. It is surprising that the article does not have any bibliography, although scientific critical literature is simply necessary here. The content of the articles devoted to world religions causes bewilderment. The Marxist principle of the explanation of religions by "real social historical relations" was not used in them, although the need for such an explanation was spoken about in the article "Religion" (FES, p 577). Thus, it is unknown, under what social conditions Buddhism arose; it appears as the product of the activity of Gautama Buddha,

is characterized as "thoroughly asocial in its nature" (ibid., pp 63-64) and in essence loses the traits of a religion, being turned into a certain philosophical doctrine. In the article "Islam" the social significance of the basic concepts and precepts of this religion was not revealed, such basic principles of it as the idea of submission and fatalism were not mentioned. In the article "Christianity" several quotations from the works of Engels were used, but the noncritical exposition of Christian doctrine lends the article a homiletic nature. A scientific analysis of the social prerequisites and ideological sources of Christianity and its social principles, which were characterized so vividly by Marx in the work "The Communism of the Newspaper RHEINISCHER BEOACHTER," is absent here. In the bibliography to the article space was not found for this work of Marx, as well as for the works of I. A. Kryvelev on the Bible and Christianity, which are of great scientific and philosophical importance. About the bibliography while I am at it. The exclusion from the bibliography by several authors of the articles of the FES of the works of the classics of Marxism, which have to do with the theme, as well as solid Marxist studies is not a harmless matter: their lack of acknowledgment or ignorance adversely affects the content of the articles.

In the article "A Time to Search" (PRAVDA, 15 May 1983) attention is directed to the intolerability of superficial, one-sided evaluations of historical facts, social processes and phenomena and the departure from clear class evaluations when addressing religious problems. Apparently, it is time to comprehend the causes of the appearance of such trends in our philosophical and historical literature and fiction.

Professor V. V. Sokolov (Moscow State University) expressed complete agreement with the overall positive evaluation of the FES. He called the enlistment of philologists in the authorship in the FES entirely justified: as a result of this the articles in the FES, which were written by them, became more informative, accurate and saturated with specific facts and in their nature approached the articles in foreign dictionaries. At the same time V. V. Sokolov noted that the enlistment of philologists in the elucidation of the problems of classical philosophy, especially personal data, was most justified. In his opinion, the article on Nicolaus Cusanus, the most prominent philosopher of the early Renaissance, was written unsatisfactorily: the philologist author was not able to reveal the philosophical essence of the teachings of this thinker, having glossed over his pantheism. In the article "Faith," which was also written by a philologist, this concept was characterized in a one-sided manner, only in its religious meaning, while nothing is said about its philosophical meaning. In the article "Pascal," which once again was written by a philologist, the question of the attitude of this prominent French thinker of modern times toward science, his role in the formulation of the methodology of scientific research and his philosophical thoughts on the latter was evaded. Without all this the cast of mind of Pascal as a philosopher is substantially impoverished and distorted. Perhaps, in the articles on classical philosophy the role of philologists should have been confined to concrete textological questions, while the coverage of philosophical questions proper should have been assigned to philosophers, thus setting up a kind of collaboration of philosophers and philologists.

Docent Yu. V. Ivlev (Moscow State University) gave as a whole a high rating to the section of the FES on logic, the basic articles of which are very substantial and adequately express the present level of the elaboration of logical theory. At the same time he expressed dissatisfaction with how a number of short articles on logical concepts were written, since these articles give inaccurate definitions and do not contain all the necessary information. The logical teachings of a number of philosophers, particularly Plato and Aristotle, were covered at a low level and unprofessionally in the personal data devoted to them.

Professor V. V. Bogatov (Moscow State University) noted that the philosophical views of the representatives of the progressive, especially the revolutionary democratic, line of domestic thought, the number of whom, moreover, was significantly and unjustifiably reduced as compared with "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" and the previously published philosophical dictionaries, were covered unsatisfactorily in the FES. There are no personal data on many Russian enlighteners of the 18th century (Anichkov, Desnitskiy, Pnin, Novikov and others), on the Decembrists, Ogarev, Serno-Solov'yevich, Shelgunov and Antonovich. The philosophical views of N. G. Chernyshevskiy, the most prominent representative of Russian revolutionary democracy, were belittled and glossed over. Chernyshevskiy, in contrast to V. G. Belinskiy, A. I. Gertsen, N. A. Dobrolyubov and D. I. Pisarev, is not awarded by the authors of the article on him even the title of philosopher, but is called only a revolutionary democrat, enlightener-encyclopedist, writer, literary critic and great socialist of the pre-Marxist period. The views of Chernyshevskiy on nature, man and knowledge, which are also not awarded the name of philosophical views, were presented extremely sparingly and schematically. Contrary to the nature of these views of Chernyshevskiy, which is obvious (even from the exposition in the FES) for specialists, the authors do not qualify them as materialistic and dialectical. The selected philosophical works of Chernyshevskiy, which have been published more than once in our country, were not included even in the bibliography of the article, which is called upon to direct the attention of the mass reader to the literature most accessible to him. With the exception of "The Esthetic Relations of Art to Reality," not one philosophical work of Chernyshevskiy, even his "The Anthropological Principle in Philosophy," is named in the article. The words of the authors of the article that "formally Chernyshevskiy did not found a special scientific school" (FES, p 771), are not accompanied by the necessary explanation on its actual emergence. Since none of the followers of Chernyshevskiy is named in the article (and there are no personal data on them), the reader is induced to believe that such a school did not exist at all.

This situation is significantly worse with the coverage of the revolutionary democratic thought of the peoples of Russia. In our union republics specialists and the mass reader will not say thank you to the creators of the FES.

Professor Sh. F. Mamedov (Moscow State University), having voiced agreement with the statement of V. V. Bogatov, noted that of the revolutionary democrats of the other peoples of Russia in the FES there are personal data only on Akhundov and Nalbandyan. The revolutionary democratic thought of the peoples

of the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Baltic republics was not covered at all in the FES.

Professor B. V. Meyerovskiy (Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G. V. Plekhanov) appraised the FES as a whole as a very substantial, interesting book, which is a result of immense work of the authors' collective and the editorial board of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House. The significant achievements of our philosophical science over the past 10-15 years were reflected in many articles of the FES on dialectical materialism, historical materialism and philosophical questions of the natural sciences. At the same time serious shortcomings are noticeable in the articles on the history of pre-Marxist philosophy. In many of them the methodological position of Marxism and the principles of adherence to the party line and the historical method are vaguely expressed. An obvious disproportion in the coverage of idealism and materialism, which finds expression in the fact that in the FES significantly more attention and space are devoted to the idealistic trend in philosophy than to the materialistic trend, is observed.

B. V. Meyerovskiy dwelled in detail on the question of how Plato and Platonism are covered in the FES, having said that the principles of the approach of the authors and editors of the dictionary to the coverage in it of idealistic teachings are clearly revealed in this special question. First of all the abundance of articles, which are devoted to Plato, Platonism and Neoplatonism and many of their representatives, is conspicuous. The presence in the FES of another six special articles (they were not present in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," which is much larger in size) on Plato's works "Timaeus," "Parmenides," "Republic," "Phaedrus," "Phaedo" and "Symposium" is a vivid display of the generosity of the compilers of the FES with respect to Plato, moreover, all these are articles of significant length, several of which take up two columns of text. The Epicurean School did not receive in the dictionary such detailed coverage as the Platonic School. It is significant, further, that in the personal data on Plato he is specified only as "the father of Platonism" (FES, p 496), while there is not a word about Platonic idealism in this definition. The definition of Platonism, about which it is merely stated that this is "any philosophical trend which bases itself on the teachings of Plato" (ibid., p 498), is also no more substantial. It is stated about Plotinus that this is "a Greek Platonic philosopher, the founder of Neoplatonism" (FES, p 501), while the definition of Neoplatonism states that this is "the last stage of the development of classical Platonism" (ibid., p 427). These are all exclusively formal, not philosophical and even in essence commonplace definitions, upon comparison they appear as parts of a vicious circle, that is, are constructed logically incorrectly. The general reader--and judging from the edition of 150,000 copies, the FES is intended for him--will have to investigate independently, what the essence of the philosophical view of the Platonists and Neoplatonists is. Meanwhile the principle of adherence to party line requires the indication of the affiliation of one thinker or another to a specific camp in philosophy. In the articles on Plato and his followers this principle is ignored.

"The dialogues of Plato," the author of the article on him in the FES writes, "do not contain a complete philosophical system. This makes extremely difficult the problem of an adequate presentation of Platonic teachings"

(ibid., p 496). Of course, in case of the *PRESENTATION* [in italics] of Platonic teachings it is impossible to reveal the philosophical essence of the latter, and the seeing of the task of the article simply in a presentation eliminates the possibility of a philosophical approach to these teachings, which undergo in the article only a textological analysis. The author, actually, does not have any grounds, which merit attention, to dispute, as he does, the point of view, which has been elaborated by historical philosophical science, of the philosophy of Plato as teachings about the world of ideas, to which primacy over the world of earthly things belongs. In the works of V. F. Asmus, the most prominent Soviet expert on classical philosophy, it is explained quite convincingly that, according to Plato, without the world of ideas the world of things cannot exist. This is contrary to what is claimed in the FES. In the article in question there is also no clear evaluation of the political views of Plato. In it nothing is said about the apologia by Plato of social inequality, about the doctrine of antidemocratism, which is characteristic of him, and about the reactionary nature of his social utopia.

More than 10 years have passed since the publication of the last volume of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya." Our historical philosophical science has advanced and has been marked by new achievements. But what is written by the new authors in the FES about Plato and Platonism is a big step backward as compared with the articles in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," particularly the article of A. F. Losev on Plato. Among the authors we see such competent specialists as F. Kh. Kessidi, A. F. Losev and A. N. Chanyshv. In the articles there are no references to the books of the deceased Soviet specialists on classical philosophy M. A. Dynnik and A. O. Makovel'skiy. The valuable heritage of Soviet historical philosophical science is not shown in the FES.

Professor F. Kh. Kessidi (Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences) agreed that the fundamental shortcomings of the articles of the FES on classical philosophy depend first of all on the incorrect selection of the authors. It was made by a scientific consultant, who in this part of the historical philosophical section is in the FES not a specialist in the area of philosophy, but a philologist. He hired as the authors of the articles on classical philosophy his philologist colleagues, who in the place of the philosophical analysis of the teachings of classical thinkers put a textological philological analysis, and they were simply not capable of doing more. Their approach to philosophy suffers from a lack of professionalism and is, at essence, at a amateur level. The primitive, dogmatic use of the categories of materialism and idealism, which was encountered in our literature of a historical philosophical nature and in case of which it was not taken into account that among the first Greek philosophers there are found only rudimentary forms of a materialistic or idealistic world outlook, which often are whimsically interwoven, gave rise among people, who do not have a Marxist philosophical culture, the naive notion that these categories do not have a generalizing and heuristic value and they should be rejected in historical philosophical works.

The article on Heraclitus, in which even the dates of birth and death of this thinker are indicated incorrectly and does not correspond to the scientific data, was written at a nonscientific level. "Owing to the enormous

difficulties of the philological restoration of the letter and meaning of the texts which have come down," it is stated at the very beginning of the article, "so far there is no interpretation of the teachings of Heraclitus, which is to any extent universally accepted" (FES, p 109). But is the philosophical meaning of the statements of Heraclitus really understood by philology? In historical philosophical research it is an auxiliary subject for all its necessity and importance in it. The disillusionment of the author with regard to the lack of a universally accepted opinion about Heraclitus is naive--there is no such opinion about a single philosopher, of which all specialists in the history of philosophy, who in the large number of different "opinions" on Heraclitus see the manifestation of several basic interpretations (which stem from the fact that the adherence of philosophy to party policy is also completely characteristic of such a fundamental part of it as the history of philosophy), namely: theological, Hegelian (from the standpoint of absolute idealism), Nietzschean and Marxist, are well aware. As the content of the article on Heraclitus shows, its author takes the stand of a theological, religious mystical interpretation of the views of this ancient Greek philosopher. The translation of the texts cited in the article, which was made by the author from this standpoint, is subjectivistic and distorted. The idea, which does not correspond to reality, that the thoughts of Heraclitus led to the development of monotheistic religion, is incorporated in these translations. The interpretation of Heraclitus' logos as wisdom is just as untenable--in reality it is first of all regularity. Indeed, the author of the article also speaks about regularity, but only in its Hegelian, exclusively idealistic mean. If the logos, about which Heraclitus speaks, is regarded as world wisdom, it acquires the traits of a single God, who governs the entire universe. The claims of the author about the identification by Heraclitus of the living and the dead are incorrect. The meaning of the corresponding statements of Heraclitus is that the living and the dead are closely interconnected and interdependent, one follows, originates from the other. Of course, only a philosophical analysis is capable of revealing this meaning. In this case this proved to be inaccessible to a philological analysis. The ascription by the author to Heraclitus of the idea that individual souls flow in the world spirit and the logos is the flow of souls, is a distorted interpretation of the thesis "everything flows."

The articles on Plato and the Platonists are written in the same spirit.

"Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'," which is called upon to express the maximum scientific nature, is not the place for the publication of amateur exercises which abound in mistakes.

Professor I. A. Kryvelev (Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences) made the articles of the FES, which are devoted to religion and atheism, the topic of his statement. In his opinion, the majority of these articles were written at a nonscientific level. In the article "Christianity," for example, there are three references to the works of Engels, but the most important theses of these works on the class roots of Christianity and its social role in slave-owning, feudal and capitalist society are ignored. The characterization by Marx of the social principles of Christianity is glossed over to such an extent that the work "The Communism of the Newspaper RHEINISCHER BEOBSACHTER," which contains it, was not included

even in the bibliography. In the article nothing is said about the fact that the notorious triumph of Christianity over "paganism" after the recognition of the former as the state religion of the Roman Empire was ensured by the most violent forcible measures, up to the brutal murders of those who continued to worship the old gods. Nothing is also said about the murderous persecutions of "heretics" by the state church and about the dreadful outburst of religious fanaticism during the era of the clerical Middle Ages (for the "considerate" attitude of the FES toward religion it is significant that in it there are no articles on religious fanaticism, clericalism, theocracy and superstition, in which it would have been impossible not to criticize religion and the church). The papacy is covered in the article in a noncritical way, and such a sinister tool of it as the Inquisition is not even mentioned. Nothing is reported to the reader about "The Index of Banned Books" (but in the FES there is a large number of articles on all kinds of theological books). When the author reaches the 19th and 20th centuries in the history of Christianity and dwells on the papal encyclicals, he says nothing about the fact that they defended capitalism, and does not reveal the social significance of the appeal "for a class world," which is characteristic of them and is mentioned in the article (FES, p 760). A significant portion of the article is devoted to the presentation of Christian dogma, which due to the lack of the revelation of its earthly roots and social essence can be used successfully when studying courses of dogmatic theology at church educational institutions. The atheist lecturer will not find in this article anything that would help him in the critical interpretation of Christianity from a Marxist standpoint.

The articles in the FES on other world religions--Buddhism and Islam--are approximately the same, moreover, in them there are no references at all to the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is possible to explain only by the total ignorance of the Marxist interpretation of religion the assertion that Buddhism "is thoroughly asocial in its nature" (FES, p 64).

In a large number of articles on religion ("Theology," "Theodicy" and others) such a structure is found: throughout nearly the entire article an incorrect interpretation of the subject is given, while the concluding phrase speaks about the Marxist understanding of this subject, which is presented so schematically, in a simplified form and simply incorrectly that it proves to be compromised. Moreover, the authors of such articles emphatically distance themselves from what they pass off as the Marxist understanding.

Not by chance is a large portion of the Soviet religious studies literature, which is of a scientific atheistic nature, ignored in the FES. The approach of the authors of the named articles to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin is "unique." Wherever they have been included in the bibliography, for the most part only the volumes (at times also the pages), but not the titles of the works, are indicated. Meanwhile the titles of the works of theologians and religious figures are carefully copied out in the bibliography, up to the point that with respect to foreign works their titles are given not only in translation, but also in the source language.

The article on Epicurus is representative for the characterization of how the history of free thinking and atheism is covered in the FES. For 2,500 years his name was a symbol, a banner of free thinking. When the representatives of

various denominations said "Epicurean," they had in mind a critic of religion, or else an atheist. From the article of the FES on Epicurus we learn just on the level which interests us that he recognized gods. But what in Epicurus was actually "Epicurean," was aimed against religion and expresses free thinking? Nothing is said about this in the article "Epicurus."

There are no articles in the FES on the works of Lenin, which reveal the essence of the Marxist approach to religion--"On the Attitude of the Workers' Party Toward Religion" and "Socialism and Religion." But in it there are quite a few articles on religious books and theological treatises, for example, on "Summa Theologiae" and "Summa Contra Gentiles" of Augustine [sic], on the Arabic medieval book "The Theology of Aristotle," "Theodicy" of Leibniz (along with the fact that there is also a special article on the problem of theodicy from antiquity to the 18th century). And at the same time there are no articles on such atheistic works as "De Rerum Natura" of Lucretius, the medieval anonymous "Treatise on Three Deceivers" and "Pocket Theology" and "A Gallery of Saints" of Holbach.

The editorial board of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House, which prepared the FES for publication, did not take into account the criticism of the manifestations of "God-seeking," which was given in our press with respect to the religious studies articles of the fifth (and several preceding) volume of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" (the Jesuit Piper hailed this volume with an article, which was published by many western journals and was entitled "Soviet Philosophers Go Over to the Positions of Theology"). On the other hand, the theological trend of the religious studies articles of this volume underwent in the FES such development that it is possible to say about several articles of the dictionary, which are devoted to religion: they are nonphilosophical. We have before us such a case when a fly gets in the ointment.

Docent A. N. Chanyshv (Chair of the History of Foreign Philosophy of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University) supported the evaluation of the FES by I. A. Kryvelev. Many articles on classical philosophy, he said, do not contain the concepts "materialism," "idealism," "dialectics," "metaphysics" and "class." We need to fight for the purity of the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the history of philosophy. From a philosophical point of view the articles on classical philosophers were written not in a philosophical manner. Disregarding the philosophical essence of the teachings in question, these articles are filled with information about the fact, for example, that sexual abstinence was preached at Plato's Academy. The preponderance of philologists among the authors of these articles affects in a most harmful way the ideological and theoretical level of the coverage in the FES of classical philosophy. Everything seems to indicate that this preponderance is also being maintained in the second edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," which is being prepared and in which the same people, who wrote them very unsatisfactorily in the FES, have been approved as the authors of the articles on classical philosophy. Such a situation is fraught with the most serious ideological and theoretical costs, and it is necessary to change it radically.

Professor Yu. K. Mel'vil' (Moscow State University) said that in the coverage of the history of philosophy in the FES actually not everything is well. With respect to classical philosophy this was convincingly shown in the statements of V. N. Kuznetsov, V. B. Meyerovskiy, F. Kh. Kessidi and A. N. Chanyshv. Indeed, fewer errors were made when covering the philosophy of modern times. Modern bourgeois philosophy was covered unevenly in the FES. Some authors give a clear Marxist characterization of the philosophers in question, while others do not. The article on Nietzsche is rather weak: his political ideas are completely blurred, but they make it possible to understand much in the philosophy of Nietzsche. In the article on Bergson a completely arbitrary interpretation of how he understood the correlation of matter, the spirit and life is given, as a result of which his philosophical views are distorted. The article on Husserl was as a whole written rather well, but intentionality is incorrectly regarded in it as a certain "bridge" between the subject and the object, between the immanent and transcendent worlds. But for Husserl any existence is a correlate of consciousness. The article on Pierce is totally incredible, in it everything is muddled, starting with the translation of terms.

The procedural miscalculation of the editorial board of the FES consists in the fact that it trusted not very competent authors and did not send the articles written by them to qualified specialists for review. Articles of the FES were not sent for reviewing, for example, to the Chair of the History of Foreign Philosophy of Moscow State University. Secrecy is contra-indicated to work on encyclopedic publications. The adverse results, to which it led, should serve as a lesson when preparing the second edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" for publication. Qualified philosophers, and not philologists, should, of course, write the articles on the history of philosophy in it.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Professor S. T. Melyukhin (Moscow State University) said that if the FES is evaluated as a whole, it was done at a high theoretical level and will be very useful for all instructors of philosophy, scientists and other specialists. This publication contains an enormous amount of information on personal data, on literature and on facts. All the reference matter, which concerns personal data, works and facts, was realized very conscientiously, scrupulously, with great scientific exactingness. The reproach that in the FES excessive attention is devoted to theologians and religious philosophers, while inadequate attention is devoted to materialist philosophers, including domestic materialist philosophers, is, however, just. The information on religious idealistic concepts in principle is useful, but when it is cited, one should give a critique of them and advance counter arguments, which show the untenability of these concepts and reveal the Marxist-Leninist position on the issues being interpreted.

In the articles on dialectical materialism and the problems of science the basic terms are covered well, but quite briefly, moreover, the limited space assigned for this was not always used efficiently. The articles on the basic philosophical categories, the concepts of dialectical materialism and the philosophical questions of science were organized, for example, according to the following arrangement which evokes objections: first there is a general definition of the concept (for the most part a purely etymological

definition), then there is the presentation of the historical philosophical materials (who said what in this regard in the past), which takes up a times up to 70-80 percent and more of the text, while at the end of the article as a result it is stated that this concept plays a great role in Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It would be more advisable not simply to present the opinions of thinkers of the past, but to group them according to the most typical concepts (indicating in parentheses, who advanced them and supported them), which are to be briefly characterized, and further in the larger portion of the article to show the qualitatively new and essentially different solution of this problem in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, including the research of scientists of the USSR and other countries. For if we take such problems as movement, space, time, systems analysis, research methods and the problems of the theory of cognition, their present solution in the level and amount of information greatly exceeds what was said earlier, especially in pre-Marxist philosophy. But in many articles there are the opposite proportions, which create the impression that dialectical materialism adds only a little to what was previously known. In reality it gives a qualitatively different, very substantial solution, which is spoken about quite thoroughly in the articles. The method of presentation, which is practiced in the FES, was borrowed, apparently, from "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," in which historical philosophical material predominated in articles of this sort. Now it is necessary to make the presentation of the material topical. This also pertains to social problems.

It is also necessary to enlarge significantly the list of categories, taking into account the progress of research in the area of the philosophical problems of the humanities and the natural sciences. By means of this the categorial system of dialectical materialism and historical materialism was enriched over the past 10 years with not just 10 categories.

Professor V. I. Razin (Moscow State University) appraised the FES as a necessary and useful publication, which as a whole was written correctly. The articles on historical materialism were written as a whole very skillfully. The fact that in the generalizing article "Historical Materialism" it is characterized as "the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the area of social phenomena" (FES, p 228), evokes full support.

At the same time certain shortcomings are also found in the FES. One of them consists in the fact that the FES is overloaded with the names of figures, who did not leave a great mark in philosophy, as well as terms which do not have to do with philosophy. The information appearing in the personal data about who influenced the thinker in question and whom he himself influenced, seems unnecessary, as is the information, for example, on when Eriugena [John the Scot] appeared at the court of Charles the Bald. Incidentally, an entire column of text is assigned to medieval thinker Eriugena, while only half a column is assigned to such an important work of Marx as "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." The indicated work is described very scantily, and if a student were to reproduce exactly the entire text of this article on an examination, he would deserve no more than a "satisfactory" for his answer, since he would not speak about many essential theses of this work.

The fact that class, social characterizations are not always given in it to figures of the past, is also a significant shortcoming of the FES. For example, in the article on Bruno it is written that he was burned for heresy, but nothing is reported about such an essential fact as his demand for the secularization of monastery and church lands. The social significance of the theory of art for art's sake is not revealed, and it is not properly criticized in the FES.

The abundance in the FES of articles of deceased authors evokes astonishment.

There are complaints about the bibliography. Thus, in the article "Interest" the only Soviet work on this subject, which was written by N. V. Lavriyenko, is ignored, in the article "The Theory of Cognition"--the book of A. M. Korshunov, in the article "The Scientific and Technical Revolution"--the books of V. G. Marakhov and N. I. Dryakhlov, in the article "Sociology"--the book of D. I. Chesnokov. The selection of literature recommended to readers suffers in a large number of articles from subjectivism.

In the article "Categories" there is nothing at all on the categories of historical materialism, as if they do not exist. The articles on politics were written by a group of people who advocate "political science," but there is no article on the concept "the political organization of society." It is merely mentioned with a reference to the article "Political System." If these concepts are treated as synonyms, why were the studies on the political organization of society not included in the bibliography of the latter article? In the article "The State" when characterizing the conditions of its origin there is no mention of class antagonisms, the indication of which separates, as Lenin wrote, the Marxist interpretation of the origin of the state from the opportunistic interpretation (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 33, p 7; Vol 39, pp 66-67).

Professor A. I. Titarenko (Moscow State University) reported that the FES was the topic of discussion at an expanded meeting of the Ethics Commission of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (with the participation of members of the Chair of Ethics of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University). The overall conclusion of this discussion is the extreme dissatisfaction of specialists with the section of the FES on ethics. Such philosophically and socially important--especially in our times--ethical problems found themselves in the FES in the position of a "Cinderella," being pushed into the background and far background and being greatly shortened. There are far fewer articles on ethics in the FES than articles on theology. In the FES there are no articles on such fundamental ethical concepts as "virtue," "dignity" and "honor," but as compared with other Soviet reference works on philosophy, in which there are articles on these concepts, it was "enriched" with the article "Sin." The FES article "Conscience" contains only seven lines, and no bibliography is given to it. Meanwhile the article "Kasb" on one of the concepts of Muslim theology is twice as long and, moreover, is provided with a substantial bibliography. Many schools of ethical thought are not presented in the FES, but in it there is an abundance of articles on theological schools (the Isfahan School in Islam, the Cappadocian circle of Christian theologians and so on).

The underestimation of ethical problems also found expression in the personal data. In the article on Seneca, for example, all his views, except ethical views (they are mentioned casually and are not revealed), which hold a central place in his world outlook and which historically were most significant, are covered; Seneca went down in world culture precisely as a moralist, and in the history of ethical thought his views hold a very prominent place. In the article "Epicurus" his ethical views are described entirely inadequately, and nothing is said about Epicureanism as a trend of ethical thought either in it or in the article "Epicureanism," which immediately follows it. Meanwhile, it was one of the two basic trends (along with Stoicism) in antiquity and retained a vast influence over subsequent centuries, especially starting with the Renaissance age. In the article "Kant" his ethical concept, which had an enormous influence on the development of ethical thought and created in it one of the most influential schools of modern and recent times, was covered very sparingly. In this article only 16 lines are assigned to Kantian ethics. In the articles "Hedonism" and "Eudemonism" there are gross errors which distort the significance of the views which were opposed by materialist philosophers to religious teachings on morality.

A number of substantial articles (for example, those written by the late O. G. Drobnitskiy), which were reprinted with minor correction from "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," do not reflect the present level of the development of ethical thought in our country. We have the right to demand of the FES, which was published in 1983, the expression in it of the modern interpretation of ethical problems and a sufficiently thorough characterization of those of them, which were posed and intensively elaborated in our country during the period after the publication of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," that is, over the past 15-20 years.

Professor A. F. Zotov (the Chair of the History of Foreign Philosophy of Moscow State University), having voiced satisfaction with the level of the articles on methodological problems (for example, "Theory," "The Empirical and the Theoretical"), at the same time directed attention to substantial shortcomings in a number of articles of this cycle, which are short, but very important in their significance: "Induction," "Analogy," "Idealization," "Hypothesis," "Fallacy," "Classification" and others. First of all the definitions offered in these articles cause dissatisfaction. An elementary logical error, which is known as a vicious circle, is contained, for example, in the definition of induction: induction is characterized as "a type of generalization, which involves the anticipation of the results of observations and experiments on the basis of the data of experience," and further it is "explained" that "in induction the data of experience 'suggest' the general, or induce the general" (FES, p 207). The following definition of idealization obviously is not suitable: "the mental construction of concepts about objects, which do not exist and are not feasible in reality, but such ones, for which prototypes exist in the real world" (ibid., p 196). This definition is too broad, since it is possible to construct mentally any object you like on the basis of prototypes of the real world--up to God. Further it is written that the process of idealization is characterized--among other things--by "the introduction in the content of the concepts being formed of such attributes, which in principle cannot belong to their real prototypes" (ibid.). But something contrary to the truth follows from this, namely that

attributes, which do not exist in reality, are included in "idealization." In the article "Hypothesis" the latter is regarded not so much as a method of thinking as its result. In the article "Classification" classifications of books, plants and so on are enumerated, but it is not revealed how all sorts of classifications are carried out, the process of classification is not described. In the article "Analogy" there is nothing except general phrases. In the article "Measurement" it is stated that this is "the determination of the ratio of one (measurable) value to another, which is taken as a constant (to a unit of measurement)" (ibid., p 202). The indicated definition is inaccurate, since, taking it as a guide, it is simple to imagine, for example, the following absurdity: having taken as a constant value the size of the earth, to attempt by means of this "unit" to measure the size of "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'."

In the article "Quantity" it is defined as "a category of materialistic dialectics, which depicts the general and the united in things and phenomena, characterizing them from the point of view of relative indifference to the specific content and qualitative nature" (FES, p 263). As compared with this the following definition of Aristotle, which is cited later in the article in question, looks immeasurably more substantial: "What is divisible into components is called a quantity.... Any quantity is a set, if it is countable, and a value, if it is measurable" (ibid.), not to mention the richness of content of the Hegelian definition of quantity.

In the article "Fallacy" it is incorrectly defined as "the nonconformity of knowledge to the essence of an object" (ibid., p 188), which, moreover, is directly at variance with the article "Knowledge," in which it is written about the latter that it is an adequate reflection of reality "in the consciousness of man" (ibid., p 192). The editors are first of all responsible for such variant readings.

The enumerated articles in the FES display traces of haste in work and ill-consideration. Their authors (and editors) had not acquainted themselves, apparently, with the philosophical dictionaries of the Political Literature Publishing House, which had gained much experience in the development of polished definitions and other generalizing formulations.

Many instructors of higher educational institutions, who have come to the conclusion that it is better to turn on these questions to the last, fourth edition of "Filosofskiy slovar'" [A Philosophical Dictionary] (Moscow, Politizdat, 1981) and to recommend it to students, have already noted the inaccuracy of the definitions and other significant shortcomings of the articles of the FES.

When comparing the FES with "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that a large number of articles in it were written better. Such is the opinion of many instructors of higher educational institutions. The translation of the FES into foreign languages, which is planned by the Progress Publishing House, seems unjustified.

Apart from all else gaps of no small importance are found in the FES. In it there is no article on such an influential school in methodology as the

historical school (but there is an article on the Isfahan school in theology). In the FES there is also no article on postpositivism, which is an extremely important trend in contemporary bourgeois philosophy. There is also nothing said about it in the article "Neopositivism," in which it was natural to find if only mention of it.

Docent A. T. Pavlov (Moscow State University) noted the inaccuracy of the wording of the article "Historical Materialism," according to which the latter is "the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the area of social phenomena" (FES, p 228). This formulation, he said, was taken, in reality, from the work of Stalin "On Dialectical and Historical Materialism" and has been repeatedly subjected to convincing criticism in the works of Soviet philosophers over the past 30 years. They indicated its lack of conformity to the thesis of Lenin (which was stated in the article "Karl Marx") that the materialistic interpretation of history is "the consistent continuation, the extension of materialism to the area of social phenomena" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 26, p 57). In the detailed works of the Soviet researchers of the history of Marxist philosophy T. I. Oyzerman, N. I. Lapin and others it has been convincingly shown that in the process of the formation of Marxist philosophy dialectical and historical materialism arose simultaneously and that the new interpretation of social phenomena was of substantial importance for the development of not only historical, but also dialectical materialism.

Professor I. S. Narskiy voiced the opinion of the members of the Chair of Philosophy of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and described the FES as a whole as a valuable, necessary publication, among the authors of which there are many highly skilled specialists, and their articles were written at a high ideological and theoretical level and contain vast and accurate information. Such, in particular, are the articles "Marx," "Engels," "Marxism-Leninism," "Dialectics" and many others. In the articles on dialectical materialism the results of the debates, which have taken place in our country in recent decades, to a significant extent were taken into account, they are free of immature Hegelianism, which appeared at times in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," and of the contradictoriness observed in it, when two differing points of view of two authors were presented in the same article.

At the same time very significant shortcomings are found in the historical philosophical section of the FES. When covering contemporary bourgeois philosophy an undue list in the direction of religious philosophical thought is observed, moreover, its criticism is obviously inadequate. At the same time such influential trends of contemporary philosophical thought as critical rationalism and "the new philosophy" ("the new philosophers") in France are overlooked. In the article on K. Popper his philosophical activity of the past 25 years is not reflected. A number of articles were taken with minor "cosmetic" correction from "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," therefore, the latest Soviet studies on bourgeois philosophy, which were not cited even in the bibliography, were not taken into account in them.

In a number of personal data on contemporary bourgeois philosophy the connection of its representatives with politics is glossed over, the political

aspect of their activity is ignored. Thus, in the article on L. Klages nothing is said about the fact that he was the philosophical predecessor of German Fascism (in "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" this role of Klages was described quite clearly). The article on I. Lakatos glosses over the fact that he emigrated from socialist Hungary and repudiated Marxism. When listing the theoretical influences on Lakatos it is not mentioned that in his science of science concept he borrowed very much from Soviet philosophers, particularly from the lectures of S. A. Yanovskaya, which he heard during his stay in Moscow. Having found himself in England, he expressed these ideas in new terminology and presented them as ideas which he himself had developed.

The complex and contradictory figure of Lukac, the article on whom is filled mainly with biographical and bibliographical information, while the content of his philosophical views and their connection with his political position are not revealed, did not find proper coverage in the FES.

There are also shortcomings in the coverage of several most prominent West European philosophers of modern times. In the article on Descartes the philosophical essence of his dualistic doctrine was not revealed, since nothing is said about its materialistic and idealistic aspects, to the identification of which Marx attached paramount importance for the proper understanding of the development of all modern European philosophy. In the article of Leibniz the dialectical ideas of his philosophy are not presented. Lenin's characterization of these ideas is not cited in the article, and "Filosofskiye tetradi" [Philosophical Notebooks] of Lenin, which contain this characterization, are not included even in the bibliography. "The Holy Family," which contains the most important indications made by Marx of the place of Leibniz in the philosophy of modern times, is also absent in it. Meanwhile dialectical ideas are the most valuable component in the philosophical heritage of Leibniz, precisely owing to which it is possible to regard this scholar as a predecessor of German classical philosophy. The bibliography of Soviet publications on Descartes and Leibniz, in which many substantial works on these thinkers were not included, was compiled subjectivistically.

In a number of cases people, who are not known to the philosophical community and who lack substantial publications on the questions being dealt with by them, appear as the authors of the most important historical philosophical articles. In particular this pertains to the articles on classical philosophy, including the articles on such prominent representatives of it as Plato and Aristotle.

Large gaps are found in the coverage of the philosophical thought of the past among the peoples of the socialist countries. Of the Polish progressive thinkers of the 19th century not one is represented in the FES, of the Czechoslovak thinkers only Bolzano is represented. The revolutionary democratic thought of the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe is glossed over in the FES. But its philosophical content is very significant.

Of the Soviet philosophical journals only VOPROSY FILOSOFII is mentioned in the FES.

I. S. Narskiy also touched upon the section of the FES on logic, having indicated the lack of articles on such modern fields of it, which are being fruitful developed by Soviet scholars, as relevant, paraconsistent and temporal logic.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Professor M. I. Iovchuk (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) said that both the discussion of the FES in the council of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University and the opinion on it of many other specialists in the field of philosophy testify to the presence in it of many shortcomings. The expressed remarks should be discussed at the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House, first of all in the editorial board of philosophy. In the FES actually too many articles are devoted to theology and religious idealistic thought. At the same time essential philosophical concepts and personal data are absent in it. Such important articles as "The Leninist Stage in the Development of Marxist Philosophy" and "Philosophical Science in the USSR" are not in the FES. In the personal data on Soviet philosophers their survey data and job transfers are enumerated and their books are named, but a specific description of the contribution of each of them to philosophical science is not given. The philosophical thought of the socialist countries is meagerly represented in the FES.

Professor A. D. Kosichev on behalf of the colleagues voiced dissatisfaction with the fact that the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy did not receive adequate coverage in the FES. It is spoken about schematically only in a small section (scarcely more than one column) of the article "Philosophy," which is entitled "The Origin and Development of Marxist Philosophy." The entire Leninist stage in the development of the philosophy of Marxism accounts here for 20 lines of text. It is unquestionable that the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy deserved a detailed generalizing article, which gives a sufficiently reasoned scientific interpretation of the very complex process of its origin, formation and development. It should not be forgotten that philosophical revisionism is devoting immense attention to the falsification of the history of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Owing to the studies of Soviet historians of philosophy and foreign Marxists, who base themselves on the scientific foundations, which were laid by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, of the interpretation of the history of the teachings developed by them, we also have something to oppose to the revisionist attacks in this important area of the ideological struggle.

It is impossible to recognize it as correct that the articles "Philosophical Science in the USSR" and "Marxist Philosophical Thought Abroad," which are traditional for our reference works (including for the philosophical dictionaries published by the Political Literature Publishing House), are absent from the FES. The personal data on Soviet and foreign Marxist philosophers, which have been published in the FES, to no extent can fill this substantial gap. Not to mention the fact that their number has been reduced significantly (and unjustifiably) as compared with "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya" (in particular, at the expense of articles on A. V. Lunacharskiy, I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, Yem. Yaroslavskiy and prominent theorists from the ranks of the leaders of the international workers' and communist movement), they were written not at a high scientific level. The

personal data of Soviet philosophers are incomplete, which causes bewilderment. These, actually, are not philosophical articles, but survey information and service records, which, of course, in their own way are important, but to no extent can offset the absence of specific information on the elaboration of philosophical problems. The FES reports less about each of them on the philosophical level than about such philosophically insignificant figures as Marius Victorinus and al-Suhrawardi. Since in the FES the description of other philosophical teachings is accomplished to a very great extent through the corresponding personal data, not finding a philosophical content in the articles on Soviet philosophers, the reader (especially the foreign reader), who is not informed about their creative work, might conclude that there was simply nothing to write about. In combination with the lack in the FES of the already mentioned generalizing articles this can be used by our ideological opponents, first of all the revisionists, in the interests of spreading fabrications about the dogmatic perception of Marxism in the Soviet Union and about the stagnation of Marxist theory after Marx, Engels and Lenin. One must not overlook the fact that the ideologically important task of the promotion, explanation and defense of the achievements of real socialism also applies to our philosophical property.

In the FES there is the very substantial generalizing article "Revisionism." In it, however, the basic attention is directed to the revision of the sociopolitical theory of Marxism, while little is said about philosophical revisionism. In the FES there are no personal data on such leading representatives of modern revisionism as H. Lefevre, E. Fischer and R. [Garodil]. A knowledge of the basic principles, the trains of thought, the strategy and tactics of philosophical revisionism and the ability to criticize them in a well-reasoned manner are vitally important under the conditions of the present unprecedented intensification of the ideological struggle, during which the opponents of socialism are striving--among other things--to sow, as was noted at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the "poisonous seeds" of revisionism. The achievements of Soviet scholars in the criticism of philosophical revisionism are great, but room was not made available for their expression on the pages of the FES. The skilled Marxist examination of the religious studies and historical philosophical aspects of revisionism could, in particular, provide substantial assistance in the matter of combating the penetration of "God-seeking" motifs into our literature, including the pages of the FES.

N. M. Landa, chief of the editorial board of philosophy of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House, thanked the council of the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University for the careful examination of the FES and expressed the wish that the materials of the discussion would be turned over to the editorial board of the FES. He voiced disagreement with the reproach for the disregard in the FES of the achievements of contemporary philosophical thought and said that if it were possible to bring to the held discussion all 350 of its authors, they would be able, apparently, to advance retorts to a large number of the made remarks. N. M. Landa expressed the wish for effective cooperation with the Philosophy Faculty of Moscow State University in the work on the second edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya."

When summarizing the discussion of the FES it was noted that as a whole it evokes satisfaction. The hope was expressed that this discussion would be useful for the editorial board of the FES. All the speakers, and there were quite a large number of them, admitted that a dictionary of this sort is necessary, but it is necessary to work seriously on it. The complaints of the speakers concerning the fact that the workers of the Philosophy Faculty were not enlisted in the discussion of the word list, the writing of the articles in the FES and their reviewing, are justifiable. This to no small degree explains the fact that several articles of the FES inconsistently propound the scientific materialistic, Marxist point of view on the questions being dealt with in them. The FES has already been published, and we can merely state the facts which disturb us. But since the discussion of the FES anticipates the publication of the second edition of "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," the consideration of the expressed critical remarks can contribute to the noted shortcomings not being reproduced and especially not growing in it. The philosophical community should be enlisted extensively in the development of the new "Filosofskaya entsiklopediya," starting with the discussion of the word list and ending with the reviewing of the manuscripts of the articles by qualified specialists in the field of philosophy. The professors and instructors of the Philosophy Faculty are vitally interested in the fact that in this new, basically reference work on philosophy everything would be thoroughly considered, weighed and written at a modern, truly scientific level.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Filosofskiy entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'" [A Philosophical Encyclopedic Dictionary], the main editorial board: L. F. Il'ichev, P. N. Fedoseyev, S. M. Kovalev, V. G. Panov; the editorial board of philosophy: N. M. Landa (chief), V. M. Smolkin (dialectical materialism, philosophical questions of the natural sciences, logic, the history of philosophy of modern and recent times), V. I. Khmelevskiy (historical materialism, sociology), Yu. N. Popov (esthetics, ethics, psychology, the history of classical and medieval philosophy, the history of philosophy of the East), N. I. Demina (the history of philosophy of modern and recent times, the history of Russian philosophy) et al., Moscow, 1983, 840 pages.
2. "Filosofskiy slovar'" [A Philosophical Dictionary], 4th edition, edited by I. T. Frolov, Moscow, 1981, 445 pages; "Kratkiy slovar' po filosofii" [A Concise Dictionary on Philosophy], edited by I. V. Blauberg and I. K. Pantin, Moscow, 1982, 431 pages.

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NATIONAL

SAMPLE PROGRAM OF JOURNALISTIC STUDY

Faculty, Photojournalist Program

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 84 (signed to press 11 Nov 84) pp 49-50

[Article: "The Reader Asks: Have Study Programs Been Developed?"]

[Text] "Dear editors! Your journal has stated several times that study programs are needed at various public universities and schools in order to improve the skill level of professional journalists as well as worker-peasant correspondents. Tell us please, what is the state of affairs at present? ...A. Kuznetsov, worker-peasant correspondent, Novosibirsk.

We can report that the Secretariat of the USSR Union of Journalists governing board has adopted the resolution entitled "On Study Programs for Institutes and Schools for Journalistic Skills and Worker-Peasant Correspondent Universities."

STANDARD PROGRAM for a two-year institute on journalistic training for workers in oblast, city and rayon newspapers.

The Institute for Journalistic Training is called upon to become an important link in the system of theoretical and professional training of the journalistic cadres and to help them master the entire set of ideas stemming from the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

The studies at the institute must include lectures and speeches by party and Soviet workers, directors of organs of mass propaganda and informations, and specialists, as well as creative encounters with masters of Soviet journalism, seminars, and study assignments.

The proposed standard program must facilitate the moral-creative growth of journalists, the enhancement of their knowledge in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy, the mastery of the art of in-depth analysis of socio-economic processes and the skill of publicism, as well as expressive means of photo reporting.

Active participation in seminars, systematic independent work, diligent attendance of classes and fulfillment of study assignments--papers, topical press summaries, written and photographic work on assigned current topics--will help the students to improve their level of training.

NEWSPAPER FACULTY STUDY PROGRAM

No p/p	Title of courses	Number of hours
1.	Questions of CPSU theory and practice at the current stage and the tasks of journalistic	56
2.	Current problems of the Soviet press and questions of journalistic skills	66
TOTAL:		122 hours

COURSE I.: "Questions of CPSU Theory and Practice at the Current Stage and the Tasks of Journalistics"

Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, positions and conclusions contained in the speeches by CPSU Secretary General and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, comrade K. U. Chernenko presented at these meetings--program of activity for means of mass information and propaganda--4 hours.

The struggle of the party and the people in fulfilling the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the socio-economic program of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Illumination in the press of the socialist competition for ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of tasks set for the five-year plan, above-plan increase in labor productivity and additional reduction in cost of production--4 hours.

The course of realization of the USSR Food and Energy Programs. Development of consumer goods production and of the system of consumer services--4 hours.

The role and place of the press in implementing the social policy of the CPSU and in further improving the socialist way of life--4 hours.

Basic problems in improving the economic management mechanism at the current stage--4 hours.

Basic directions for further development and intensification of economic and scientific-technical cooperation of countries in the socialist alliance (in light of the high level economic conference of the CEMA member states)--2 hours.

Successive and active realization of the program for the continued struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of peoples as presented by the 26th CPSU Congress. Current problems in CPSU foreign policy activity at the present stage--4 hours.

The place and role of mass public organizations and labor collectives in the political system of a developed socialist society--2 hours.

Principles of party management of the press--2 hours.

Decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and their application in press practice--4 hours.

The resolution by the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improving the Activity of Rayon and City Newspapers"--4 hours.

The embodiment of Leninist ideals of internationalism in the indestructible union of the Soviet socialist republics and the current ideological struggle--2 hours.

The essence, content, criterion of maturity and characteristic traits of a developed socialist society. The reflection of basic traits of developed socialism in the press as a regular stage in the formulation of the communist formation, regularities and peculiarities of its development and improvement--6 hours.

Tasks of the press in light of the CPSU Central Committee Resolution entitled "On Further Improving Party Management of the Komsomol and Increasing its Role in the Communist Upbringing of the Youth"--4 hours.

Experience accumulated by Soviet sociology and journalistic in studying the readership and means of mass communications of editorial staffs, journalistic cadres and party management by means of mass information and propaganda, and its application in journalistic practice--2 hours.

The role of the press in illuminating the realization of reform in general education and professional schools--4 hours.

COURSE II.: "Current Problems of the Soviet Press and Questions of Journalistic Skills"

Leninist principles of party publicistics and their development in the decisions of the party and in the practice of the Soviet press. Publicists of the Leninist school--6 hours.

The role and place of counter-propaganda in the ideological work of the CPSU. Increasing the role of counter-propagandist functions of the press--2 hours.

The tasks, experience and practice of illuminating socialist competition of the workers in the press--4 hours.

Problematics of party life and party construction on the pages of the press (traditions, the search for new forms)--4 hours.

The Soviet press--an effective means of ideological work of the party. The task of increasing the level of current importance, scientific substantiation, well-reasoned basis and effectiveness of publications on problems dealing with the ideological struggle and counter-propaganda--4 hours.

Spiritual and moral values of a developed socialist society in the work of the publicist--2 hours.

The scientific-technical revolution and publicism--2 hours.

The struggle for an overall increase in the effectiveness and efficiency of publications--an important task of workers in means of mass information and propaganda--2 hours.

Creative factors in the effectiveness of the publicistic presentation--2 hours.

The image of the leading worker in the creativity of the Soviet publicist--2 hours.

Stylistic bases of newspaper genres--6 hours.

Letters from readers as a source of publicistic creativity--2 hours.

Moral-ideological positions of the journalist in his creativity--2 hours.

Religion in the current ideological struggle. Exposing the scientific inconsistency of religious teachings and anti-communist clericalism by means of the press--4 hours.

The creative laboratory of the publicist (meetings with leading masters in Soviet journalism)--6 hours.

Current tendencies in the development of the Russian language in the press. Materials of the CPSU Central Committee on the importance of language and style in the work of organs of mass information and propaganda--2 hours.

The problem of word selection in publicistics--2 hours.

The lexicon of current publicistics. Stylistic resources for lexicon, morphology and syntaxis of publicistics--2 hours.

Analysis of materials from newspaper-journal publicistics--2 hours.

Proofreading text and analysis of papers presented by students--6 hours.

Prospects for the development of the press, TV, and radio broadcasting--2 hours.

PHOTO JOURNALISM FACULTY STUDY PROGRAM

No p/p	Title of course	Number of hours
1.	Problems of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics	14
2	Theory and practice of photo journalism	66
TOTAL:		80 hours

COURSE I.: "Problems of Marxist-Leninist Aesthetics"

Art and society. The social functions of art. Class nature and national character of art--2 hours.

Ideology and creativity. The principle of party character of art. The method of socialist realism and the development of Soviet photography--2 hours.

The ideological struggle and current photography--2 hours.

Photography and current artistic culture--2 hours.

Seminar with analysis of papers by students on their completed course of study--6 hours.

COURSE II.: "Theory and Practice of Photo Journalism"

Continuity of traditions and creative sources of current Soviet photo journalism, its ideological formulations, humanist tendencies, and moral criteria--2 hours.

Moral-aesthetic principles of "creative photography," which unites two branches of creativity--photo journalism and photo art; their similarities and differences, specifics of depictive-expressive means, aesthetic possibilities of documentary expression, and photo journalism in the series of other means of mass information--4 hours.

Moral-political and creative basis of photo journalism and its tasks in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee (lecture and seminar)--2 hours.

Criteria for evaluating the journalistic photograph and the display exhibit--works in photographic art. The role of editorial processing and photograph lay-out in further social interpretation. The thesis of "objectivity," "universality," of the photographic language as ideological speculation of bourgeois theoreticians in photo journalism--4 hours.

The photograph and text. Their interconnection and interaction. The role of text in the singularity of interpretation of photographic depiction necessary for the press. Image stereotypes and evaluative character of photographs and text commentaries to them. The decisive significance of the moral-political outlook of the photo journalist and the photographic editor in selecting photographs and accompanying text (lecture and seminar)--6 hours.

Genre structure of current photo journalism. Types of photographs and principles of their classification. Genre terminology and its sources. Groups of genres. Characteristics of information-publicistic and artistic-publicistic groups of genres (lecture and seminar)--6 hours.

Photo correspondence, photo reporting, photo summaries and photo serials as the basic genres of photo journalism. Their characteristics, distinguishing traits, and sphere of application. Genre diffusion (lecture and seminar)--6 hours.

Presentations by masters in photography and creative seminars with analysis of practical study assignments of students on designated topics--36 hours.

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Worker-Peasant Correspondent Program

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 10 Dec 84) pp 46-48

[Article: "The Reader Asks: Have Study Programs Been Developed?"]

[Text] In issue No 12 of ZHURNALIST for last year, and in response to the question posed by Novosibirsk worker-peasant correspondent A. Kuznetsov, we published part of the study programs which have been developed for institutes and schools of journalism and worker-peasant correspondent universities. We are currently publishing the remainder of this document.

COURSE PROGRAM

"Theory and Practice of the Soviet-Party Press" for worker-peasant correspondent universities and schools.

I. BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE SOVIET-PARTY PRESS

The inception and development of the periodical press as a reflection of the economic, social and ideological needs of society.

The communist press--a new type of press. Its radical differences from the bourgeois press--by its social structure, class function, forms and methods of operation.

The Leninist principle of communist party loyalty--the basic principle of the Soviet press. The article by V. I. Lenin entitled "Party Organization and Party Literature" and its significance in formulating the principles of socialist journalism. V. I. Lenin on the criteria of press party loyalty.

The public and mass character and true democratic nature of the Soviet press as a manifestation of its party loyalty. The truthfulness of the Soviet press--the most important principle in its activity. The scientific approach to the reflection of life in communist journalistic. The reflection of contemporaneity in light of the ideals of communism.

Propaganda of ideals of Soviet patriotism, proletarian internationalism and socialist humanism.

Continuity and irreconcilability in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, imperialist propaganda, and the ideological attacks of the class enemies.

V. I. Lenin and the CPSU on principles of party management of the press.

The 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses on improving the work of party management of the press as a necessary condition for its successful activity.

Resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee on questions of the work of the press which have been adopted in recent years: "On Illuminating Questions of Socialist Competition in the Press of the Lithuanian SSR," "On Measures for Improving the Training and Re-Training of the Journalist Cadres," "On the Management of the CPSU Tomsk Obkom by Means of Mass Information and Propaganda," "On the Work of the Newspaper TRUD," and "On Further Improving the Activity of Rayon and City Newspapers."

The resolution of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "Current Questions on the Ideological and Mass-Political Work of the Party." Its significance in improving the activity of means of mass information and propaganda. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improving Party Management of the Komsomol and Increasing its Role in the Communist Upbringing of the Youth." (1984).

The work of the party committees on strengthening the effectiveness of the press and expanding and enhancing its ties with the masses.

Worker information of the party committee of journalists, ratification of editorial plans, reporting by editorial collectives at party committee meetings. Overview of the press--an important form of party press management.

Forms and methods of party press management.

The concern of the party committees for continued improvement in the moral-political and professional level of the journalist cadres and the active worker-peasant correspondents.

II. FUNCTIONS OF SOVIET JOURNALISM

The Leninist definition of the basic functions of the communist press. V. I. Lenin on the press as a mighty tool for moral influence and political management of society.

The press as a collective propagandist, a collective agitator and a collective organizer. Unity and interaction of functions, and their manifestation under current conditions.

Propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory and party policy, as well as tasks on communist construction in Soviet journalism. Agitation through facts. Education of the masses using living examples. V. I. Lenin on the importance of the positive example. Formulation of political views of the readers by the press. The increasing role of Soviet journalism as a collective organizer of the masses in creating a material-technical base of communism and in the communist upbringing of the workers.

The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning Soviet means of mass information and propaganda as an effective instrument in communist upbringing and organization of the workers, ideological provision of party domestic and foreign policy, and a true all-people's tribunal.

The Soviet-party press as a most important institution in socialist democracy, a means of attracting the workers to the discussion and solution of current problems and formulating public opinion.

Party directives on the successful fulfillment of the educational and organizational role of the press under the condition of concentrating the attention of the readers on the primary directions in the activity of the party and the people, on a serious analysis of problems, and on propaganda of leading experience and examples of labor in all aspects of life.

The tasks of means of mass information on propaganda and implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, subsequent Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Food, Energy and Comprehensive Programs, as well as basic directions in reform of the general education and professional schools.

Illuminating in the press the struggle of the workers for bringing to life the economic policy of the party and the course of socialist competition. Practice, experience, tasks.

Illuminating party life and party construction in the press. Practice, experience, tasks.

Illuminating ideological and political-education work in the press. Practice, experience, tasks.

III. THE PUBLICISTIC SKILL OF V. I. LENIN

V. I. Lenin--organizer of the party press and founder of Bolshevik publicistics.

Lenin's definition of publicistics as a history of current times. V. I. Lenin on the primary tasks in Soviet publicistics.

Characteristic traits of the publicistic skill of V. I. Lenin--party loyalty, communist ideals, goal-oriented nature, popular orientation, efficiency and effectiveness.

Peculiarities of Lenin's articles: urgency, in-depth development of the selected topic, scientific generalizations based on facts from life, irreconcilability with enemies, aggressiveness, and constructive character of conclusions.

Characteristic elements of style: precise definitions, use of literary examples, proverbs and sayings, catch-words and poetic characteristics.

Composition as a means of expressing content.

Subordination of form to content and the publicistic task.

Development of Leninist principles and Leninist requirements for Soviet-party publicistics in the practical activity of means of mass information and propaganda and in party decisions and directives.

IV. VOLUNTARY SERVICES IN THE SOVIET PRESS. ORGANIZATION OF EDITORIAL STAFF WORK.

V. I. Lenin. The CPSU on the importance of the worker-peasant correspondent movement and active participation of the broad masses of workers in the press.

The continued growth of worker-peasant correspondent ranks--an irrefutable testimony to the practical implementation of the Leninist principle of mass character and popular orientation of the communist press.

The worker-peasant correspondent movement at the current stage. The June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the need for developing a tradition of a mass worker-peasant correspondent movement. The systematic work of editorial offices with writer active groups and with teachers. The editorial apparatus as an organizer of the writer's active group.

Letters from workers to the editorial staff. Their role in formulating current questions and in studying leading experience and criticizing shortcomings. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "On Further Improving Work with Letters from Workers in Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress" (1976).

Public editorial collegia. Writer's councils within editorial staffs and departments. Consultative councils. Public correspondents and informants. Public correspondence offices. Non-staff sections. Public receiving offices.

The mass work of the editorial staff. Worker-peasant correspondent roadsteads and posts. Public exhibits. Correspondence exchange by adjacent members.

Forms of education and training of the worker-peasant correspondent active membership. Universities and schools for worker-peasant correspondents.

The editorial staff of the Soviet newspaper as a political and creative organization.

Principle of organization of editorial staff work. Division of labor, colleague order, combination of one-man management with the personal responsibility of each editorial staff worker. The role of the writer's and reader's active and voluntary services in the activity of the editorial staff.

The structure of the editorial apparatus; its basic segments. Editorial services, their role and tasks.

The editor--a political manager, organizer and instructor of the editorial collective. The primary responsibilities of the editor.

The editorial staff, its rights and responsibilities.

The secretariat--the organizational-creative staff of the editorial office.

Departments of the editorial office.

The correspondent's network.

Organization of the process of newspaper publication.

The system of newspaper planning. The party decisions and directives as the determining basis in planning all the work of the editorial office.

Long-term plan of the editorial office. Participation of the non-editorial active in its compilation. Current and long-term editorial plans. The campaign plan. Planning the next issue. Planning target issues and topical pages.

Flyers and leaflets.

Peculiarities in the organization and work of the editorial staff for the wall newspaper.

V. NEWSPAPER GENRES

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE

The Leninist definition of the tasks of publicistics and publicists. ("Revolutionary days," "On the character of our newspapers," "The great initiative.").

Journalistic genres. Indicators determining the newspaper genre: the "working" purpose, character, and specifics of the subjects, the scope of the facts and data, the methods of argumentation, the broadness of generalizations and conclusions, and the specifics of literary-stylistic means.

Types of newspaper genres.

THE NOTICE

Principle differences between information in the Soviet press and information in the bourgeois press.

Peculiarities of informational genres (notices, reports, interviews, accounts) in the Soviet press and the requirements set for them: currency and effectiveness, truthfulness and accuracy, goal-oriented selection of facts, evaluation of their social significance, simplicity of language and clarity of style.

The notice, its indicators and its purpose as a means of information, popularization of achievements in various spheres of communist construction, as well as criticism. The efficient reporting of socially significant facts in domestic and international life. Requirements for content and literary finish. Sources of notices.

Types of notices (notice telling about some event or fact, response notice, obligatory notice, critical notice, etc.). Methods of work on the notice.

THE REPORT

V. I. Lenin on reporting and reporters. The purpose and peculiarities of reporting as a genre. Its role in the propaganda of leading experience and achievements of the Soviet state. Reporting on international topics.

The role of the author in reporting. Creating the "effect of presence."
The relation of informational and analytical elements in reporting. Publicistic interpretation of events. Forms of reporting and its compositional peculiarities. Methodology of working on reporting. Peculiarities of preparing a problematic report. Use of the method of "change of profession" by the reporter. Critical reporting.

Work on reporting (selection, verification and clarification of the facts, etc.).

Literary polish of reporting.

THE ACCOUNT

The account as a newspaper genre and its peculiarities.

Lenin's requirements for the account and for recording of speeches. The work of V. I. Lenin entitled "The Bed Made Softly, But Hard to Sleep On"--an example of a newspaper account.

Types of accounts. Analytical, thematic and problematic accounts. Form and style, their dependence on the type of account and the specific tasks.

Methodology of taking notes for an account. Presenting the content of speeches and discussions. Checking facts and figures.

THE INTERVIEW

The interview as a newspaper genre, and its peculiarities.

Social significance of the interview.

The interview as a form of presentation in the press by innovators, leaders in production, scientists, and workers in culture and art.

Types: the interview-story, the interview-conversation, the press conference, and the questionnaire.

Preparation by the journalist for conducting an interview. Methods of conversing with interviewees. Technique of recording conversations. Checking facts and figures presented in the interview, submitting the entire text for approval by the interviewee.

Correspondence--one of the basic genres in newspaper publicistics.

K. Marx and V. I. Lenin on correspondence and corresponding in the newspaper.

Basic traits of correspondence. A comprehensive study of "a slice of life" (M. I. Kalinin), detailed analysis of the facts, criticism of shortcomings, propaganda of leading experience, and constructive conclusions.

Selection and specification of a topic, formulation of a problem, argumentation.

Work on literary form of correspondence.

THE ARTICLE

The article as an expanded publicistic genre.

Lenin's articles--an example of propagandist and popular art and publicistic skill.

V. I. Lenin's requirements for the article: party goal oriented nature, high theoretical level, business-like manner, specific nature, wide grasp of material from life. Skillful selection of a topic, its thorough development and literary polish. Popularity and expressiveness of the article.

N. K. Krupskaya on the articles of V. I. Lenin in PRAVDA, calling to action.

Distinguishing peculiarities of the article: broadness of generalizations, depth of analysis of facts and phenomenon of life, and formulation of pressing questions. Literary polish of the article.

Unity of composition.

Subordination of the composition and literary means to the main thing--content and political tasks of the presentation.

The front-page article as an editorial presentation.

The theoretical-propagandist article. The problem formulation article. Publicistic commentaries as a sub-type of the article genre. Work on the article: comprehensive study of the question (topic), collection of material, formulation of the main goal, compilation of the plan. Work on composition and style of the article, its literary polish.

THE FEATURE STORY

The feature story as an artistic-publicistic genre. Combining in it the characteristic traits inherent in publicistics and in the artistic work.

The purpose of the feature story. Its task today.

The differences of the feature story from reporting and from the article. Publicistic origins in the feature story. Expressions by the author on examined events, discussions and conclusions. Documentary nature of the feature story. Accuracy of facts, events, names, surnames, and life situations. Accuracy

in descriptive depiction of the main character. Possibility of fictionalizing the feature story (non-addressed, "undocumented" feature story), conjecture.

Types of feature stories.

The portrait feature story. Illustration of Soviet man, our contemporary. Exposure of man's character through his thoughts, actions and deeds. The individual and the collective. Combining typical traits with individual qualities of a personality. Showing a main character in the contradictions of growth and in the struggle for overcoming difficulties.

Sketch by M. Gorky entitled "V. I. Lenin" -- an example of the portrait feature story.

Feature story based on events, and its problematic beginnings. In-depth penetration into the essence of the matter. The effort to find the most expedient means of solving an important problem. The difference of the problem feature story and the article or correspondence. Means of generalization in the problem feature story. Travel features, and their peculiarities. The travel feature stories of M. Gorky entitled "Along the Union of the Soviets."

A sketch as a "minor form" of the feature story. The picture "from nature," but having a publicistic purpose: to pose a pressing and socially significant question by means of a concise description of events.

The creative laboratory of the feature story writer. Main steps in developing the feature story: birth of a topic. Selection of a subject. Conversation with the main character. Familiarization with documents. Systematization of materials. Realization of the goal.

THE FEUILLETON

V. I. Lenin on the significance of satire and humor. The letter of V. I. Lenin to the editorial office of the newspaper NEVSKAYA ZVEZDA (July 1912). Lenin's polemic art, his skill in using means of satire and humor in the irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeois ideology and opportunists of all ilk. The works of V. I. Lenin entitled "Revolutionaries in White Gloves" and "In the Lackey Room"—examples of communist satire.

Soviet satire. Its high ideals, party nature and directionality. The party on the tasks of satire: the struggle with vestiges of capitalism in human consciousness and behavior, the struggle against bureaucratism, idling, indifference, disruption of socialist moral standards, etc.; exposure of capitalism, bourgeois ideology, intrigues by imperialist reaction, by the enemies of peace, and by opponents to relaxation of international tensions.

Genres of satire--the feuilleton, the pamphlet, the epigram, the parody, the fable, and the caricature. Differences between satire and humor. Humorous stories, friendly jests.

The difference between the feuilleton and the critical article. The purpose of the satirical portrait in the feuilleton as a form of criticizing a specific bearer of evil.

Documented nature and truthfulness of the feuilleton in the Soviet press, and its educational influence. Literary means inherent in satirical genres.

The creative laboratory of the feuilleton writer. Selection of a topic, facts and their evaluation. The plot in the feuilleton. Development of action. Conjecture in the feuilleton, which does not hinder the principle of truthfulness.

Work on the language in a feuilleton.

Satirical sections and corners in a newspaper, and particularly in a wall newspaper.

VI. EDITING NEWSPAPER MATERIALS

The significance of V. I. Lenin's experience as an editor for the theory and practice of newspaper editing. V. I. Lenin's concern for retaining the spirit and uniqueness of working correspondence.

Basic requirements for editing and literary proofing: political clarity of formulation, accuracy, simplicity, conciseness of presentation, clarity of language, elimination of errors and random facts from the text.

Types of literary proofing: proofing-extraction, proofing-abridgement; proofing-re-writing, proofing-re-working. The methodology and technique of literary proofing. Proofing symbols.

Stages of editing: reading for familiarization, evaluation of the topic and social significance of the written material, evaluation of the significance and believability of the facts, correspondence of style to content, abridgement of material at the expense of secondary facts and excess words.

Analysis of compositional structure. Checking facts, figures, and correct spelling of names and titles.

Peculiarities of working with author's materials. Preliminary familiarization with the manuscript. Conversation with the author. Suggestions regarding independent correction of discovered shortcomings and enhancement of content by the author. Secondary review of the material corrected by a non-staff author.

The need for retaining the stylistic peculiarities of the author in editing.

VII. JOURNALISTIC SKILLS LABORATORY. PSYCHOLOGY OF CREATIVITY.

The concept of the creative process in journalism. Its components: function--subject--method--content--form. The interconnection between communist ideology and skill.

The journalistic method: mastering the Marxist-Leninist methodology of analyzing current social life--the primary basis of journalistic skill.

The documentary nature of journalistic creativity.

The fact and the publicistic idea. The fact and the theme. Selection of a theme and its development. The social significance and current nature of the theme.

Understanding the subject as a system of events and "history" of thought development. Similarities and differences between the subject in the publicistic and artistic work. Basic elements of the subject. Works with and without a subject.

Individual style of the journalist as a moral-publicistic unique feature in his creativity.

Technology of journalistic creativity. Its individual uniqueness and correspondence of the general goal and specific peculiarities of journalistic work. Basic means and methods of fixing life's observations (notebook, dictophone, diary, dossier, card file, etc.). Classification and storage of notes. Organizational techniques in the work of the journalist. The journalist's personal archive. Organization of journalistic work. Commensurability of organizational and individual creative activity.

The "Program (Working) of the Course in 'Theory and Practice of Party and Soviet Press' for Faculties in the Social Professions at Institutions of Higher Learning" developed by the RSFSR Minvuz and the Moscow Polygraphic Institute was used in developing the present study program, as was also the "Program for the Course in Theory and Practice of the Soviet-Party Press" of the University for Worker-Peasant Correspondents imeni M. I. Ul'yanova in Moscow.

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PUBLISHING OFFICIAL INTERVIEW: BOOK SHORTAGES, OTHER ISSUES

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 21 Dec 84) pp 72-76

[Interview of B. N. Pastukhov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade: "Comrade Book"]

[Text] The book, social-political in nature, is one of the richest sources of knowledge and most widely available means of self-education. The Soviet people is one of the best-read peoples of the world. For it, the book has become in the truest sense a loyal comrade, a companion of life. To develop in people an even greater love for reading, and a striving to know the riches of the world of books, as well as actively influencing the formation of readers' tastes and promoting the increase of culture for the reader--these are tasks for which we call mainly upon our book publishers.

The editorial office of the journal receives letters in which readers pose questions about publishing and the dissemination of social-political literature. We have asked B. N. Pastukhov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, to answer a few of them.

[Question] What are the most significant books on urgent problems of social science which are of interest to people making an independent study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and the policies of the CPSU, as well as for propagandists and students of the system of party education, which will be published by publishing houses in 1985?

[Answer] First of all, let me note that for workers in book publishing, like the entire Soviet people, 1985 will be a year of active preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress. Publishers, printers, and book distributors are structuring their work so as to make a worthy greeting of the next forum of the Communist Party. They will try to carry out the requirements of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the necessity of preparing books in which an accessible presentation of Marxist-Leninist theory is combined with a brilliant narration of the heroic path, illuminated with the light of Lenin's ideas, which has been traveled by our party and people.

In connection with this, it is impossible not to turn the attention of readers to the two-volume publication of the collected works of V. I. Lenin, published by Politizdat and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee. It contains Lenin's works on the new type of party, the unfolding of the revolutionary movement in Russia, the Great October Victory of the socialist revolution and the defense of its conquests, the building of the first socialist state in the world, and the laws and principles of creating socialism and communism. In the published works, the reader finds the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the era of humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The two-volume set will give a broad presentation of the works of Lenin on questions of the strategy and tactics of the international communist and workers' movement, the history of the Communist Internationale and the national-liberation struggle. The volumes came out for the first time last year; publication is now continuing. At the same time, new, favorable opportunities are being created for the Soviet people to make independent study of the deathless works of Vladimir Il'ich.

This year we will continue to print the seventh, supplemented publication of the textbook "Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union].

For university students of Marxism-Leninism, we present A. I. Rakitov's book "Marksistsko-leninskaya filosofiya" [Marxist-Leninist Philosophy]. We are preparing new publications of textbooks on scientific communism and political economics.

A number of books are addressed directly to propagandists. I will name a few of them: the educational-methodological guides "Kak izuchat' trudy K. Marksa, F. Engel'sa, V. I. Lenina v kurse marksistsko-leninskoy filosofii" [How To Study the Works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin in a Course of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy]; "Metodika samostoyatel'noy raboty" [Methodology of Independent Study]; V. P. Kashirin's brochure "Yazyk i stil' leninskikh vystupleniy pered massami" [Language and Style of Lenin's Speeches to the Masses]; and the collection "Lenin--master propagandy" [Lenin--Master of Propaganda].

Problems of the intensified ideological struggle demand special attention from publishers. The All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference "Perfecting Developed Socialism and the Party's Ideological Work in Light of the Decisions of the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee" emphasized with new force the need to give counterpropaganda an aggressive nature. I suggest that special interest in this connection will be evoked for readers by works now being prepared for publication such as A. A. Sazonov's "Voprosy kontrpropagandy v sovremennykh usloviyakh" [Questions of Counterpropaganda Under Modern Conditions], V. L. Artemov's "Kontrpropaganda: teoriya, metody, praktika" [Counterpropaganda: Theory, Methods and Practice], the next issue of the collection "Sprashivayte--otvechayem" [You Ask--We Answer], and others.

In 1985, 25 books will be added to the popular series "Imperializm: sobytiya, fakty, dokumenty" [Imperialism: Events, Facts, and Documents]. Some 70 publications have already come out in this series within a relatively short

amount of time in a printing of 5 million copies. Readers have responded positively to the new series "Terror na sluzhbe imperializma SShA" [Terror in the Service of United States Imperialism].

Propagandists, we think, will be interested in becoming acquainted with works such as "Ideologicheskaya strategiya SShA na mirovoy arene: bor'ba protiv sotsializma, mira i demokratii" [The Ideological Strategy of the United States in the World Arena: The Struggle Against Socialism, Peace, and Democracy] and "Net nyne zadachi vazhney! Yadernaya katastrofa mozhet i dolzhna byt' predotvrashchena" [No Task Is More Important Today! Nuclear Catastrophe Can and Must Be Averted].

It is difficult, and probably unnecessary, to talk about all publishers' plans in a short conversation. Besides, in the 10th issue of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE for 1984, leaders of a number of central publishing houses have already shared with readers future plans for publishing social-political literature. To this I will only add that propagandists and students will be helped by books of interpublishing house series such as "Sovetskiy obraz zhizni: osnovnyye cherty, soderzhaniye, preimushchestva" [The Soviet Way of Life: Basic Features, Content, and Advantages]; SSSR--bratstvo narodov" [The USSR--A Brotherhood of Peoples]; and also various types of philosophical, economical, legal, and informational literature, casting light on many questions of modern social life.

[Question] Please name some of the important works being put together by central and local publishing houses in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War, and also books about the internationalist and patriotic upbringing of Soviet people.

[Answer] The significance of historical, heroic-patriotic books, especially today, under conditions of the worsening ideological struggle, has increased. Comrade K. U. Chernenko observed with satisfaction a kind of revival of the historical theme in literature, emphasizing in a speech at the Jubilee Plenum of the Board of Directors of the Writers Union, that the teaching of history has been and remains an important instrument for inculcating civil spirit, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism.

About 33 million copies of military-historical works and collections of documents, memoirs and publicistics, military prose and poetry, and illustrated and documentary publications are being prepared by book publishers for our great holiday--the 40th anniversary of the Victory. Their authors are well-known scholars, prominent military leaders, writers, journalists, and men of the front and rear services, and these books are being published by publishing houses regardless of their thematic profile. They cast light on various stages of the second World War, the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascism, the multifaceted activity of the Communist Party in organizing the nationwide fight against the enemy, and also reject bourgeois falsification of the history of World War II.

"Vtoraya mirovaya voyna. Kratkaya istoriya" [World War II. A Short History]. This fundamental work is prepared by an international authors' collective of

scholars of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

"Velikaya Otechestvennaya voyna. 1941-1945" [The Great Patriotic War. 1941-1945]--This will be the name of a new single-volume encyclopedia, coming out on the threshold of the jubilee. The reference dictionary "Velikaya Otechestvennaya" [The Great Patriotic War] is being prepared, and a publication under the same title in the popular and convenient form of answers to questions already published.

There has been a second publication of the four-volume "Voyna. Narod. Pobeda. 1941-1945" [The War. The People. The Victory. 1941-1945], including reminiscences of prominent party and state figures, military leaders, working people of the rear services and partisans, scholars, and designers of military technology. The materials in the books are put in chronological order, making it possible to trace the main stages of the battle against the German-fascist invaders.

Simultaneously with the preparation of new things, earlier-published reminiscences of prominent Soviet military leaders are being republished for the jubilee.

Publications are coming out which tell about the labor movement, conducted over the course of all 1,418 days of the war under unbelievably difficult conditions by the Soviet working people: on machines and open-hearth furnaces, in mine faces and kolkhoz fields. Books of various publishing houses will express gratitude to the representatives of very different professions, whose daily and also heroic labor laid the foundation for the future Victory.

Republic, kray, and oblast publishing houses show in works published by them the invaluable contribution of peoples of our country in the overall Victory, the nationwide help to the front, the brotherly friendship of peoples of the USSR, and the victory of Leninist national policies. In this connection one cannot leave out two serious, three-volume studies: "Sovetskaya Ukraina v gody Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny 1941-1945 gg." [Soviet Ukraine in the Years of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945] and "Vsenarodnaya bor'ba v Belorussii protiv nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov v gody Velikoy Otechestvennoy voyny" [National Struggle in Belorussia Against the German-Fascist Invaders in the Years of the Great Patriotic War].

Many books tell about the noble mission of the Soviet army, bringing peace and freedom to the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe, and the mass opposition movement in the countries of this region.

In all genres and forms of literature the figure of the Soviet military victor is at the center. And here I would like to present for readers a journal of two picture books--"Parad Pobedy" [Victory Parade], which will be a collection of the unique pictures of the memorable 24 June 1945, and a new publication in the series "Chelovek. Sobytiya. Vremya" [Man. Events. Times]--"Marshall G. K. Zhukov."

The wave of revanchist sentiments sweeping over certain countries of the West, the thick shoots of neo-Nazism growing up in the field left by Western "sowers" demand from us books which present an adequate rebuttal of bourgeois falsification of the results of World War II and the decreased role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan. Publishers have prepared a number of propaganda works for print. I will name just a few, such as "Pravda i lozh' o vtoroy mirovoy voyne" [Truth and Lies About the Second War] by Ye. N. Kul'kov, O. A. Rzheshhevskiy, and I. A. Chelyshev and "Legendy i deystvitelnost': vtoraya mirovaya voyna 1939-1945 gg." [Legends and Reality: World War II, 1939-1945] by G. N. Reylov.

In accordance with K. U. Chernenko's directive on the need to further expand work to inculcate in young people feelings of love for the Motherland and hatred for its enemies, high political and class vigilance, and constant readiness for action, our publishing houses are devoting many jubilee books especially to military-patriotic indoctrination. From the works on this topic I will name only Yu. I. Deryugin's historical-sociological outline "Prisyagayem Otechestvy" [We Pledge the Fatherland], whose author recently became a laureate of the All-Union Literary Competition imeni Nikolay Ostrovskiy.

[Question] In a speech at the 3rd Congress of the All-Union Volunteer Book-Lovers' Society, you correctly observed that our mass information media have somewhat weakened efforts to inculcate the culture of reading in the population, popularizing public-library-forms of using books. In connection with this, journal readers will be interested to know what books shedding light on various aspects of the culture of independent reading and forms of library service are being planned for the near future.

[Answers] Book publishers of the country have carried a great deal of work to implement the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress and the June 1983 CPSU Plenum on more fully satisfying the demand of Soviet people for publications of children's fiction and artistic fiction, and decorative items.

All possible measures have been taken to see that, as readers ask, "good books are put out in good numbers." Not so long ago, average printings of fiction were no more than 50,000 copies, whereas now--take, for example, series such as "Klassiki i sovremenniki" [Classics and Moderns] and "Biblioteka klassiki" [Library of Classics]--each volume is put out in quantities of 500,000, and some in printings of from half a million to 2 million volumes. Last year, as you know, we were even able to take a step which quite recently seemed impossible: unlimited subscription to the three-volume collection of the works of A. S. Pushkin. The result--almost 11 million subscribers. And this was when, in the postwar period alone, the works of the poet had been published in the country with an overall publication of 282 million copies!

But in our opinion, printing policies require a reasonable limit, a sensible approach. Let us remember the thought of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin who, according to A. V. Lunacharskiy, said in the earliest post-October days: With the entire mass of our people, among whom the number of literate persons will

grow, among us, probably, there will not be enough books, and if we do not make the book circulate, or do not increase its availability by many times, there will be a hunger for books among us.

To make the book circulate--to increase its availability by many times.... What does this mean today?

First, it means reducing the distance between the reader and library. Here are some data of a special investigation carried out in the mass libraries of the USSR State Library imeni V. I. Lenin: 17 percent of the books examined had not once come into readers' hands; 23 percent had been taken out only one time; more than a fourth of the books received in the libraries investigated in 1980 and 1981 had not been requested by readers.

Second, opening up broader access to the 35 billion copies of books which make up the personal collections of citizens, many of which, in the vivid expression of I. V. Petryanov-Sokolov, chairman of the Central Board of Directors of the All-Union Book Society, remain cemeteries of dead information.

As for publishers, using the special "Library Series," we are trying to more fully satisfy libraries' orders for literature of high demand. In the last 10 years, the volume of books sold to libraries increased by a factor of 2.5, and the stores of state book collections grew by a half-billion copies.

Along with journalists, book distributors, pedagogues, and educators, publishers are taking measures to intensify the struggle against the unthinking accumulation of books which exists in some places, to inculcate in readers high culture and the ability to enjoy books, and to popularize public forms of satisfying readers' interest.

Specialized literature devoted to various aspects of the culture of independent reading and forms of library service is being put out mainly by the Kniga Publishing House. Since this question interests readers, I will name a few books which have recently been published or are at the stage of preparation.

The second publication of the widely acclaimed book by O. A. Kuznetsov and L. N. Khromov "Tekhnika bystrogo chteniya" [Speed-Reading Technique] sold out rapidly. In 1984, G. G. Getsov's "Rabota s knigoy: ratsional'nyye priemy" [Working With Books: Rational Measures] and "O kul'ture chteniya. Chto nuzhno znat' kazhdomy" [On the Culture of Reading. What Everyone Needs To Know] by M. D. Smorodinskaya and Yu. P. Markova were published. Rational methods of working with books, journals, and newspapers, the experiences and hygiene of reading, the culture of selecting books, and ways of consolidating and systematizing what has been read--these are several topics which will be of interest to propagandists and journal readers in these works.

Not a bad new year's gift to the reader, in our opinion, will be the new publication of "Kratkiy spravochnik knigo-lyuba" [Short Guide to the Book-Lover], put together by the Kniga Publishing House. Recommended bibliographic textbooks are also being planned for release.

For students in the system of party education, there may be special interest in the second, expanded and revised edition of the textbook "Kak samostoyatel'no izuchat' politicheskuyu knigu" [How To Make an Independent Study of a Political Book]. It was put out at the end of last year by Politizdat.

[Question] From letters of propagandists and students to the editorial office of the journal, it is becoming well-known that in some regions of the country it is difficult to acquire various books on social-political topics, while at the same time, in other places they are present in surplus. Tell us, please, how the distribution of literature is carried out among the regions of our country.

[Answer] The distribution of literature is done through 17,000 bookstores, 43,000 kiosks, and also through consumer cooperation. The Soyuzkniga All-Union Association is ensuring the planned stocking of 285,000 libraries through 169 library collectors. In addition, we are distributing more than 70 million copies of Soviet books annually in 140 countries of the world.

These figures, I think, give an idea of the complexity of distributing printings. But readers, probably, are interested most of all in our system of determining the size of printings of books on social-political topics.

The basis for determining the size of printing of these publications is orders of book-selling organizations. In order to reply immediately to a possible question, I will say that this system has not yet spread to literature of high demand: fiction and children's books, publications on art, individual memoirs and monographs, encyclopedias, reference books, and dictionaries. Here, even a printing of 1-2 million copies frequently does not fully satisfy the demand. So the printing of this literature is determined by publishing houses--taking into account, of course, booksellers' demand as well--proceeding primarily on the presence of paper and assigned printing limits.

As for social-political literature, the overwhelming majority of publications, I repeat, are printed in accordance with the orders of local book-selling organizations. These same orders are used to determine distribution of the output of books throughout regions of the country. For example, if some oblast bookseller has ordered 500 copies, 500 copies are sent there. So, if there is a surplus of a certain book in some regions, and not enough in others, that means that book dealers have made an order without thoroughly studying the demand.

Unfortunately, such instances are still not rare. In order to avoid them, in recent years bookselling organizations have been actively changing to a more progressive form of service: the receipt of advance orders. In 1983, apart from stores, this work was carried out in enterprises and major establishments by 30,000 points for receiving advance orders. All of this has made it possible to collect more than 100 million orders for specialized and social-political literature according to topical plans of publishing houses for 1984.

We are making sure that each book dealer and store has its own cultural-economic maps, reflecting data on the composition, numbers, and interests of

the population, and the profile of enterprises serving them. This, naturally, has helped to put on a sounder footing the compilation of orders for publications planned.

We are expecting great returns from stores--strong points for studying readers' demands, located in various regions and attached to specific publishing houses. With capable organization of work and attracting specialists to it, including propagandists, and informal organization of readers' conferences to examine projects of publishers' topical plans, the information sent to publishing houses will help us more precisely and in a more goal-oriented fashion to conduct printing policies.

On the whole, one must say that the distribution of literature we publish is high. After 4 years of sales, only 0.6 percent of published books remain undistributed.

In conclusion, I would like to wish journal readers a happy new year, and assure them that Soviet book publishers will make the political book both fascinating and topical, and an answer to the complex and noble tasks which the party sets before ideological workers.

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12255

CSO: 1830/352

NATIONAL

BRIEFS

HONOR TO MINSK PRIMATE--Minsk, 21 (TASS)--"Life is a sacred gift which should be protected and multiplied. To attack this sacred thing is sacrilege and worthy of severe punishment. That is why religious figures and people of the Orthodox Church, like all Soviet people, come out in defense of peace." Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia began his sermon with these words today in the cathedral at Minsk, capital of Soviet Belorussia, the day of his 50th birthday. It became known today that the USSR Supreme Soviet presidium has rewarded Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the department of external Ecclesiastical relations for his patriotic activity in defense of peace. In recognition of his fine service to the noble cause of the defense of peace, parishoners of the cathedral offered Metropolitan Filaret a decorated panagia with an image of the Mother of God. The metropolitan has received many letters and telegrams of congratulations.[Text] [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1908 GMT 21 Mar 85]

CSO: 1830/471

REGIONAL

MOLDAVIAN MVD ORGANS MEET, REPUBLIC KGB CHIEF PARTICIPATES

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 9 Feb 85 p 1

[Article: "To Strengthen the Social Order"]

[Text] ATEM--A conference of supervisory workers of the MSSR internal affairs organs took place in Kishinev on February 8. Discussed at the conference were problems in fulfilling the current requirements of the Party and in carrying out the directives of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade K. U. Chernenko as to issues of strengthening law and order and Socialist lawfulness.

The reporting speaker--MSSR Minister of Internal Affairs and Lieutenant-General of the Internal Service N. M. Bradulov--and the other speakers analyzed the status of work on intensifying the struggle against criminality and strengthening the social order, discipline, organization, and Socialist lawfulness. They noted that any negative manifestations under the conditions of our life are absolutely intolerable and arouse justifiable indignation in the workers. The MVD of the Republic and its organs, in cooperation with other law-enforcement organs, have accomplished a certain amount of work on strengthening law and order and intensifying the struggle against criminality.

However, the participants in the conference emphasized that what has been done in this direction is still insufficient. It is necessary to resolutely pursue the struggle to strengthen the social order in cities and settlements, having enhanced the role of district inspectors and formations of the DND [Voluntary People's Detachment]. The counteraction of any anti-social manifestations, including parasitism and everyday crimes, must become more effectual and aggressive. Proper order should be imposed on transportation, and highway and transportation accidents that entail the death of people should not be allowed to occur.

At the Conference a great deal of attention was given to the problems of ensuring the inevitability of punishment for crimes that have been committed, of intensifying the struggle against embezzlements, mismanagement,

wastefulness, hooliganism, drunkenness and alcoholism, and of improving work with the labor force.

It was noted at the Conference that political workers and Party organizations of internal affairs organs must energize the work and enhance the role of social organizations and formations in the matter of strengthening discipline and Socialist lawfulness, of the political and moral condition of personnel and of raising the professional competence of staff members. Second Secretary of the Communist Party of Moldavia Central Committee V. I. Smirnov and Chief of Political Administration of the USSR MVD Major General of the Internal Service V. I. Gladyshev spoke at the Conference.

Chairman of the MSSR Committee of State Security G. M. Volkov participated in the work of the Conference.

12731

CSO: 1830/362

REGIONAL

LENINAKAN KOMSOMOL CC HOLDS PLENUM

GF201600 Yerevan SOVETAKN AYASTAN in Armenian 3 Mar 85 p 3

[Excerpts] The Leninakan Komsomol organization, guided by the party's instructions, under the leadership of the Leninakan city party committee has achieved certain success in the communist education of the komsomol and youths and the raising of their production, political and public activity. Over 15,000 boys and girls are actively participating in the "successful conclusion of the 11th Five-Year Plan and the worthy welcome of the 27th CPSU Congress" patriotic movement. Responding to the "40 shock weeks on the 40th anniversary of the victory" initiative, 85 komsomol and youth collectives and over 1,100 young workers have already informed on the fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan targets. [passage omitted]

The komsomol committees are carrying out constant work to perfect the ways and methods of the communist youth education. The efficiency of the komsomol-political teaching and economic sciences education has been enhanced. The scientific and atheist propaganda carried out in the komsomol circles has been activated and purposeful work is being done toward the mass development of physical culture and sports.

This was pointed out at the routine plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee on 28 February, which reviewed the activities of the Leninakan Komsomol Gorkom toward the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the promotion of the role of Komsomol in the further improvement of the party control of the Komsomol and the education of the youths.

The plenum was opened by A. Topuzyan, candidate member of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Pointing out the positive work of Leninakan Komsomol Gorkom toward the fulfillment of the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee and the September 1984 Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, the meeting at the same time noted various shortcomings. It noted that the gorkom is not fully using the existing capabilities for the further improvement of the ideological, political, moral and working education of the growing generation. In separate komsomol organizations, a superfluous approach is being displayed on the expansion of socialist emulation among youth

circles. In certain locations, measures are not being taken to raise the efficiency of komsomol-political teaching and economic education. The Leninakan Komsomol Gorkom has serious tasks ahead to make the educational work more purposeful in accordance with the residential areas and in the juvenile circles.

The plenum adopted a decision in accordance with the reviewed question.
[passage omitted]

R. Mnadzikanyan, deputy chief of Armenian Communist Party Central Committee party organizational work department, attended the plenum.

CSO: 1838/466

REGIONAL

SMIRNOV PRESENTS RED BANNER TO KIRGHIZ SSR

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 7 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Speech by L.V. Smirnov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Frunze on 6 March 1985 before the party economic aktiv]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee, in summarizing the results of the All-Union socialist competition of union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts, cities and rayons for the successful fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development of the USSR in 1984, recognized the Kirghiz SSR as one of the victors of the competition and awarded it the Challenge Red Banner.

Allow me, in the name of the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and personally in the name of Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to congratulate you and, in your person, all of the workers of the Kirghiz SSR warmly and cordially for this great labor victory and the honorary award.

Comrades! The year 1984, the fourth year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, is over. It was full of many important events. The Soviet people worked fruitfully to carry out the social and economic program confirmed by the 26th CPSU Congress. Our country moved forward significantly in all directions of social construction.

Beneficial changes occurred in all areas of public life. The industrial potential of the Soviet Union increased. In 1984, about 200 industrial enterprises went into service. Powerful energy blocks went into operation at the Kalinin and Zaporozhye atomic electric power stations and at the Sayano-Shushenskaya GES [Hydroelectric Power Station]. The special-purpose Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod Gas Main, extending 4,500 kilometers, was put into service ahead of schedule.

An outstanding event of the year was the early opening of work traffic along the entire route of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad Line. This truly national construction project is rightfully becoming a monument to the labor brotherhood of all of the peoples of our multinational homeland.

Last year, the national economy became more efficient and its qualitative indicators improved. For the first time, 93 percent of the increase in industrial output was obtained through increased labor productivity compared to 90 percent under the plan.

"And the most important thing, comrades," stresses K.U. Chernenko, "is that the changes taking place were favorably reflected in the standard of living of the Soviet people. And this is the main criterion for the correctness of the party's economic policy and for the truth of the line that has been worked out."

Thanks to the intelligent Leninist foreign policy carried out by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and personally by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the international authority of the Soviet Union was strengthened even more.

Comrades! Over the past 4 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, the economy of the Soviet Union, the basis for the might of our socialist fatherland, has risen to a higher level. Our homeland has become even richer and stronger. The national wealth of the USSR (not including the value of the land, minerals and forests) has exceeded 3.4 trillion rubles, and fixed capital--its most important part--exceeds 2.2 trillion rubles.

National income, characterizing the increase in public production and the well-being of the people, increased during the first 4 years of the five-year plan to 570 billion rubles, or by 15.5 percent.

It is important to note, comrades, that three-fourths of our national income is used for consumption and, considering expenditures for housing and social-cultural construction, four fifths of national income goes to raise the national well-being.

At the present time, one-fifth of the total volume of world industrial output is accounted for by the Soviet Union, whereas in 1913 prerevolutionary Russia accounted for only a little more than 4 percent of industrial output. The USSR now occupies second place in the world in the volume of industrial output and it is first in oil extraction, the smelting of steel and cast iron, the production of mineral fertilizers and cement, and in the production of tractors and combines as well as diesel and electric locomotives and many other very important types of output.

The Food Program worked out by the party is being put into effect according to plan, the material-technical base of the agroindustrial complex [APK] is being consolidated, and there were increased deliveries of various kinds of agricultural equipment, mineral fertilizers, and chemical plant-protection agents to agriculture.

The program for the social development of the country and increased national well-being is being carried out successfully. Housing construction is being carried out on a large scale in the USSR. Nowhere in the world is there as much housing construction as in our country. During the first 4 years of the

current five-year plan, a total area of dwelling houses of more than 440 million square meters was brought into use. Forty million people, or practically one out of every seven citizens of the country of soviets, had housewarmings.

Comrades! The workers of the Kirghiz SSR, along with all of the Soviet people, are making their own worthy contribution to the development of the economy of our country.

In broadly developing socialist competition, the workers of the republic, under the leadership of party organizations and with the active participation of Soviet, trade union and Komsomol authorities, have honorably fulfilled the socialist obligations that they took upon themselves. Ahead of schedule, on 27 December, the republic's associations and enterprises fulfilled the 1984 plan for the volume of industrial output. During the year, its volume increased by 6.2 percent and the above-plan output amounted to 76 million rubles. It is gratifying to note that 92 percent of the increase in industrial output resulted from higher labor productivity.

The annual plan for the volume of the sale of output was 101 percent fulfilled and above-plan sales of products amounted to almost 50 million rubles.

The plans were overfulfilled for the production of electric power, the extraction of petroleum and gas, and the production of trucks, electric motors, metal-cutting lathes, the instruments and means of automation, and other output.

The annual plan for the production of consumer goods was 102.1 percent fulfilled and the above-plan production of goods amounted to more than 56 million rubles, including almost 1.8 million square meters of cotton fabrics, more than 500,000 pair of stockings and other hosiery, 164,000 items of knitwear, and many other goods of primary necessity and popular demand.

Under difficult weather and climatic conditions in 1984, agricultural workers fulfilled and overfulfilled the plans for state purchases of milk, meat, eggs, wool, silkworm cocoons, grain, potatoes, vegetables, cucurbits and other agricultural output.

The republic's builders labored in a self-sacrificing manner. Last year, through state capital investments, they put a total of more than 770 million rubles in fixed capital into operation, or 5 percent more than in 1983.

Sixteen oil and gas wells went into operation, as did about 2,500 kilometers of electric transmission lines, a mixed feed plant in the city of Przheval'sk, a bread combine and the second part of a hosiery factory in Frunze, new capacities at the Talas Meat Combine, pens for keeping more than 16,000 head of cattle and 150,000 sheep, and other projects.

In 1984, construction was completed on a significant number of social and cultural projects, including a public eating combine, a library imeni V.I. Lenin, and polyclinics for participants in the Great Patriotic War.

Through state capital investments, a total of about 460,000 square meters of apartments were put into use, as were general education schools, vocational and technical schools, preschool institutions, hospitals and polyclinics.

Comrades! The self-sacrificing labor of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia of the republic has been highly valued by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The republic was awarded two Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of Friendship of Nations.

The successes in the development of all sectors of the economy and the culture of the republic are the result of the great creative labor of millions of workers and of the great organizational and political work of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party.

The movement to fulfill the tasks of the five-year plan ahead of schedule has become national in nature. Among the victors in the socialist competition who were awarded Challenge Red Banners based upon the results of plan fulfillment for 1984 were the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, Osh Oblast, the republic's capital city of Frunze and the city of Tash-Kumyr in Osh Oblast, Issyk-Kul'skiy, At-Bashinskiy and Uzgenskiy rayons, and 16 collectives of associations and enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Models of communist labor are the renowned leading workers of production: Satina Kulmatova, a winding machine operator at the Frunze Cotton Spinning Factory imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz SSR, member of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee, and Hero of Socialist Labor; Raisa Il'inichna Roshchupkina, cocoon winder at the Osh Silk Combine, deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet and holder of the Order of the Labor Red Banner; Barktabas Zhaparov, brigade leader of the electric welders of the agricultural machine building plant imeni M.V. Frunze, deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet and winner of the USSR State Prize; Tat'yana Stepanovna Belousova, brigade leader of the turners of the Frunze plant, holder of the Order of Lenin and deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet; Zulpukar Mamatov, brigade leader of the furnace operators of the Kadamzhayskiy Antimony Combine, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet and member of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee; Ivan Andreyevich Medvedev, brigade leader of the miners of the break-age face of the Tash-Kumyr mine administration, holder of the Order of Lenin and deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet; Vasilii Yevdokimovich Il'yenko, tractor driver of the Kolkhoz imeni Kochkorbayev in Issyk-Atinskiy Rayon and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Kaliya Toktogulova, bricklayer of the SMU [Building and Installation Administration] No 1 of the Kirghiz SSR Ministry of Construction and deputy of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet; Dzhyrgal Munduspayeva, milkmaid of the Pedigree Stock Plant imeni Strel'nikovaya in Alamedinskiy Rayon and Hero of Socialist Labor; and many other working people of the republic.

Comrades, allow me to congratulate with all of my heart the leading workers of industry, agriculture, construction, transport, education, health services, culture, domestic services and all sectors of the national economy of the Kirghiz SSR on their great labor achievements and to wish them and all workers of Soviet Kirghizia further success in their noble labor for the good of our great socialist homeland.

Comrades! The workers of Kirghizstan face responsible tasks in 1985. The volume of industrial production in the final year of the five-year plan will amount to 5.4 billion rubles and will increase by 3.5 percent over the 1984 level, or by more than 24 percent over the 1980 level, which exceeds the target for the five-year plan.

More rapid development will occur in the sectors machine building and metalworking as well as nonferrous metallurgy. In machine building and metalworking, it is planned to increase the production of output by 7 percent over 1984 and the output of the radio electronics industry will increase.

The republic's APK will undergo further development. In 1985, it is planned to direct 604 million rubles to its development, or half of all capital investments allocated to the republic for this year. In 1985, the volume of APK output will amount to 3.6 billion rubles, which is 5.6 percent above the targets of the five-year plan.

It is foreseen that much attention will be paid to the development of irrigation. It is planned to complete the construction of the Papanskoye Reservoir and to provide for the irrigation of 150,000 hectares of pastures.

Through all sources of financing, it is planned to build a total of more than 1 million square meters of dwelling houses, which will make it possible to improve the housing conditions of more than 100,000 inhabitants of the republic.

The workers of Kirghizia, as in the other republics, have taken on high socialist obligations for 1985. There is no doubt that these obligations will be fulfilled successfully.

Comrades! The October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum has confirmed once again the party's very important orientation toward a further improvement in the efficiency of the national economy and toward its intensification. To solve this task, it is essential to do everything possible to accelerate scientific-technical progress, to reduce the amount of manual labor more rapidly, and to increase the share of resources directed to the technical reequipping and reconstruction of production.

Broad use should be made of machine tools with programmed control, processing centers and robots, and one should establish automated shops as well as flexible automated production systems with a technology that can be reorganized rapidly. "A rapid pace, production efficiency, and the high quality of products must all become the obligatory rule in the work of every sector and every enterprise, and, I would say, they must be the labor standard of every worker. And here there can be no discounts," Comrade K.U. Chernenko points out.

One of the decisive directions in the intensification of production involves the reduction of the materials-intensiveness of products, comprehensive saving and rational use of raw materials, fuel, energy and other output, and the incorporation of secondary resources in the operational turnover.

From the first days of the construction of the socialist state, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin gave great importance to the observance of an economy campaign. "Watch

over and guard like the apple of your eye: land, bread, factories, tools, products and transport," he wrote in the article "To the Population," "for from now on all of this will be entirely your public property."

Every day in our country, more than 2 billion rubles in raw materials and other materials, fuel and energy are expended. A saving of just 1 percent of this in 1985 will amount to approximately 7 billion rubles.

The country's production collectives, including the enterprises of Kirghizia, enthusiastically supported the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to work 2 days during the current year using saved materials, raw materials and fuel. The republic's party, soviet and economic organizations as well as the trade unions and the Komsomol should carry out much organizational work to ensure the fulfillment of this important obligation and they should take strict control over its implementation.

Each sector and each enterprise has its own tasks and its own specificity. But, stressed Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, there is an overall task that in our time must permeate the work of all sectors and all enterprises. That is the task of providing for better management, making more efficient use of resources, and working with better results. In other words, to manage the economy rationally. This is now the primary task of the labor collectives.

The October (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed the necessity of being even more active in implementing measures to strengthen state labor and planning discipline. "The question of being organized, or order, is a key and fundamental question for us. In this regard, there can be only one opinion," points out Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "Every lack of discipline or responsibility results not only in material outlays for the society. It causes serious social and moral damage."

In recent times, many sectors were able to correct the situation, increase the initiative and responsibility of key personnel, and raise the creative activity of the masses. It is now important to maintain the pace that has been attained and the overall disposition to bring about a practical solution to the tasks, to be more active in developing positive tendencies, and to give them stability.

Our achievements could be even more significant if all production collectives worked urgently, with greater effort and energy, and if they were more persistent in opening up reserves and using them fully.

It is necessary above all to concentrate our attention on the shortcomings and most critical questions, whose solution determines the success of the work. Unfortunately, there are serious shortcomings and omissions in the work of individual sectors of the national economy of Kirghizia. There were 49 industrial enterprises (15.6 percent) that did not fulfill the annual plans for the sale of output, falling more than 40 million rubles short. Not fulfilling the plan for the sale of output were the fuel industry (98.2 percent), including the coal industry (97.4 percent) and ferrous metallurgy (97 percent); the building materials industry (97.4 percent); and several other sectors. Forty-six enterprises, or almost one out of every five, did not fulfill the plans for the production of consumer goods.

The APK did not fulfill the plans for the purchase of sugar beets, raw cotton, grapes and several other agricultural crops.

There are serious shortcomings in capital construction. In 1984, builders fulfilled 79 percent of the plan for putting fixed capital into operation. The limits of capital investments were only 90 percent assimilated, and those of construction and installation work were only 88 percent assimilated. The plans were not fulfilled for putting into operation vocational and technical schools (60 percent) and preschool institutions (69 percent).

"...We are now in the final year of the five-year plan. And to fulfill its targets in a worthy manner," indicated Comrade K.U. Chernenko in his speech before the voters of the capital's Kuybyshevskiy Rayon, "much persistent work full of initiative will be needed." This is the main task of all of the collectives of the enterprises and organizations of the republic.

Comrades! The party teaches us that each manager and specialist, each Soviet person must persistently master the Leninist style of work.

In Lenin, modesty and simplicity, true humanity, respect and confidence in people, and personal participation in their fate were united with firm high-mindedness and with high demands on himself and others. Vladimir Il'ich pointed out the importance of the personal responsibility of each worker for the assigned work. The famous Leninist formula "discussion together and responsibility individually" is the law in the work of all of our organizations, enterprises and institutions.

Vladimir Il'ich directly linked the successes of socialist construction with strict discipline. "It is necessary," he stressed, "to bring proletarian labor discipline to the highest level of intensity and then we will be invincible."

Distinguishing characteristics of the Leninist style of work are directness and truthfulness in everything and the ability to recognize and reveal errors in time and to correct them.

The Leninist style excludes self-complacency and opposes any manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism.

The Leninist style of work was and remains a model for every worker of our country.

Comrades!

As is known, the first decree of Soviet authority was the Leninist Decree on Peace. Since that time, the struggle for peace has been the cornerstone of the USSR's foreign-policy activity in the international arena.

Our people have lived under conditions of peace for almost four decades. Our party is doing all that needs to be done for the safeguarding of the conditions of peaceful construction both in our country as well as in the fraternal socialist states and for the peace and security of all of the peoples of the earth.

However, comrades, of late the situation in the world arena has abruptly worsened. The ruling circles of the United States of America do not want to reconcile themselves to the historical changes in international life and to the new relationship of forces in the world. They still hope that they will be able, against the wishes of the peoples, to subject other states to their own dominion, to continue to use their natural resources, and to dictate their own will to them.

The forces of the reaction are pushing mankind to the edge of a nuclear catastrophe. Such a reckless policy is seen above all in the striving of the United States and its NATO allies to destroy at all costs the strategic equilibrium that has developed and that is the basis of international security.

The Soviet Union, true to its peace-loving policy, has put forth a broad complex of specific constructive proposals and initiatives directed toward the strengthening of peace. The White House has the official Soviet proposals: on the prevention of the militarization of space; on freezing nuclear weapons both quantitatively as well as qualitatively; on the complete and universal prohibition of the testing of nuclear weapons; and on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

The USSR is turning to the United States with the appeal to follow our example and take on the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The peace-loving policy of the USSR answers the hopes and dreams of the broad popular masses on all continents and enjoys their enthusiastic support. This forced the United States to conclude that it was necessary to enter into the negotiations proposed by the Soviet Union. It was with difficulty, but the American side was forced to agree with the viewpoint of the USSR in regard to the subject and goals of the negotiations as well as the need to view questions there as a whole and in an organic interrelationship.

The USSR is prepared for serious and businesslike negotiations with the United States in all vitally important questions. As you know, these talks are scheduled to begin in Geneva on 12 March. The Soviet Union is going to these talks with the sincere desire to attain specific positive results.

This, however, can still not be said about the American side, which in many speeches and statements by the leaders of the Washington administration engenders doubts about the true intentions of the United States.

"We have no need for military superiority and we have no intention of dictating our will to others," points out Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "but we will not permit the destruction of the military equilibrium that has been achieved. And let no one have even the slightest doubt: in the future as well, we will concern ourselves with strengthening the defense capability of our country, so that we will have sufficient means to cool the hot heads of militant adventurists. This, comrades, is an essential precondition for the preservation of peace."

Comrades! On 24 February of this year, elections were held for the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and the local soviets of people's

deputies. The elections took place in an atmosphere of very high political activity and patriotism on the part of the Soviet people. This important political event was still more evidence of the flourishing Soviet democracy, and it demonstrated the inviolable unity of the party and people and their monolithic solidarity with the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko.

The celebration in October 1984 of the 60th anniversary of the Kirghiz SSR and the Communist Party of Kirghizia was a vivid confirmation of the monolithic solidarity of the workers of Soviet Kirghizstan around the party of Lenin, loyalty to the principles of socialist internationalism, the triumph of the Leninist national policy, and the inviolable friendship and brotherhood of the peoples of the Country of the Soviets.

The outstanding successes in the construction of socialism and the labor victories of the Soviet people are indissolubly linked with the activity of the CPSU. The Soviet people look with confidence to the future and warmly support and unanimously approve of the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State.

Through their high achievements in labor, the Soviet people are striving to celebrate the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet nation in the Great Patriotic War in a worthy manner, to complete successfully the 11th Five-Year Plan, and to make a solid start on the future.

I have been given the great honor of handing over the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee to the Kirghiz SSR.

It is with great pleasure that I carry out this honorable mission.

Allow me to congratulate you once again on this honorable award.

Permit me to express my confidence that the workers of the Kirghiz SSR will attain new great successes in putting into effect the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and will thus make their worthy contribution to the further prosperity and consolidation of the economic and defense capability of our great socialist homeland.

Allow me, dear comrades, to wish you good health, tireless creative energy, and great personal happiness!

Long live the Kirghiz SSR!

Let the USSR, our splendid mighty homeland, be stronger and prosper!

Long live the CPSU, which is leading the Soviet people to communism!

(The speech was heard with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted by lengthy applause).

REGIONAL

YEREVAN RECEIVES RED BANNER AWARD

GF201542 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 2 Mar 85 pp 1, 3

[Excerpts] The workers of Soviet Armenia's capital successfully fulfilled the 4th year of the Five-Year Plan period. Realizing the 26th CPSU Congress decisions, they took a new confident step forward on the path of economic and social development and achieved high results in all-union socialist emulation and in the fulfillment of the state plans. For the 10th time Yerevan received the order of red banner from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee.

On 1 March, the party, soviet, trade unions, komsomol and economic aktiv held a ceremony at the G. Sundukyan State Academy Theatre dedicated to the presentation of the award. The meeting was opened by L. Nersesyan, first secretary of the Yerevan city party committee. [passage omitted] F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, delivered a speech.

He said: the republic's workers and the USSR Council of Ministers, accepted with great joy the AUCCTU and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee decision to award the Armenian SSR, its capital city Yerevan, the Kirovakan, the Akhuryan and Echmiadzhin rayons, and 24 enterprises and organizations of the republic with the all-union socialist emulation order of the red banner. This high award by the fatherland is evidence of the devoted and patriotic work of the working class, kolkhoz workers and public intellectuals and the result of the purposeful and constant work of the party, soviet, trade unions, and komsomol organizations. [passage omitted]

1984 was also a fruitful work year for Yerevan. By constantly and regularly realizing the 11th Five-Year Plan targets for socioeconomic development in Yerevan, the capital's workers fulfilled with honor the 4th year plan targets and the undertaken socialist obligations.

The city's industrial enterprises fulfilled the annual plan for commodities output production by 103.4 percent, a total of R105.5 million worth of output over the plan was produced and R85.4 million over the plan was sold. Similar to last year, a large scale capital construction plan was realized in the

republic's capital. Housing construction is being largely expanded. In 1984, the city's construction organizations commissioned houses with approximately 429,000 square meters of general surface. It enabled over 26,000 of the capital's general surface. It enabled over 26,000 of the capital's residents to improve their housing and municipal conditions.

The Yerevan city party committee and the Yerevan city soviet executive committee are paying particular attention to questions of further raising the standard of water, heat, and gas supplies to Yerevan residents. In the past 4 years the general rise of the city's drinking water increased by 2,000 litres per minute, the water pipeline chain expanded by 53 kms and the volume of the distillation ponds increased by 52,000 cubic meters. In order to further raise the level of water supply to the city, two new water pipelines are rapidly being constructed in Ararat. For the solution of the questions dealing with the gas supply to the city and the protection of the city's environment, it is projected to construct a gas pipeline coming from the northern rayons of the country between 1985 to 1987.

Along with that, I would like to point out that not all our enterprises and organizations and the city's residents are carrying out appropriate and systematic work to conserve drinking water and heat. The water and heat losses are considerable which in itself is having a negative affect on the population and national economy. The city's aktiv should help us in the solution of the said question.

The Armenian Communist Party, the republic's government, the city party organization and the city soviet's executive committee has concentrated on questions dealing with the protection and treatment of the city's environment. In recent years, certain work has been done to normalize and limit the emission of harmful gases into the atmosphere by industrial enterprises, transport means, and heat supply sources. Work is being done for the further rational distribution of transport which project an increase in the proportion of electric transport and cars that operate on LPG. Pedestrian zones are being created. In order to eliminate the excessive crowding of the transport in the city's central part, it is projected to build freeways, the planning of which will soon start.
[passage omitted]

Amidst ardent appaluse, Comrade F. Sarkisyan handed to the representatives of Yerevan workers the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee's order of the red banner. [passage omitted]

CSO: 1838/466

REGIONAL

SARATOV OBKOM CHIEF GUSEV ON LAND RECLAMATION

Moscow AGITATOR in Russian No 2, Feb 85 pp 13-15

[Article by V. Gusev, first secretary of the Saratov CPSU Obkom: "Land Reclamation: Concern and Return"]

[Excerpts] Farmers of Saratov Oblast, working in a zone of frequent droughts and a constant shortage of atmospheric precipitation, are especially fond of the idea of irrigation of the land and the prospects associated with it for stably increasing agricultural production. Of the last 15 years, every other one has been dry in the oblast. The productivity of grain crops during this period has ranged from 21 quintals per hectare to 3.5 quintals per hectare. During a drought there is a sharp reduction of the volumes of procurements of juicy, coarse and concentrated feeds, which has affected the number of head and the productivity of cattle and poultry. The instability of agricultural production has had a fatal effect on the moods of the people and has led to an intensive outflow of rural population. Under the 9th Five-Year Plan alone more than one-tenth of the residents left the kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

Recently, especially in the 1980s, because of the irrigation of large areas of land in rural areas, appreciable changes for the better are taking place. Each year animal husbandry and sheep growing provide for an increase in production in keeping with the assignments.

This has made it possible to improve the supply for the population. In the stores of the oblast center and other cities there are always vegetables, potatoes, dairy products and eggs for sale. In the regions where they are actively carrying out land reclamation the number of rural population is increasing; the number of machine operators increased by 5,000 under the current five-year plan. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted in his speech at the October (1984) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, with the arrival of water the people gained confidence, saw the prospects and began to live and work better.

The weather conditions in 1984 were extremely difficult--during the growing period there were 85 days with dry winds and the supplies of moisture in the soil turned out to be one-third the average for many years. Even some 5 years ago this would have led to consequences which would have been difficult to rectify. But now, because of irrigation, we were able to prepare the planned

quantity of coarse and juicy feeds, to preserve all of the livestock, and not to allow a reduction of their productivity. The price level on the kolkhoz markets and the assortment of products in the stores did not undergo any significant fluctuations.

This is why for each Saratov worker irrigation is not an abstract concept; it is his vital affair which touches upon the interests and well-being of all families.

In our oblast, with the immense and daily assistance of the CPSU Central Committee, a powerful production base has been created for land reclamation which makes it possible annually to put 30,000 hectares of irrigated land into operation and to conduct irrigation farming on the basis of modern technology. During the period that has passed since the May (1966) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee the area of irrigated land has increased from 32,000 to 520,000 hectares, that is, more than 16-fold. Now almost every kolkhoz and sovkhoz has irrigated land and 130 of them, or every fifth farm, has irrigated areas amounting to more than 1,000 hectares. On the farms of the oblast 7,600 sprinkling machines are in operation, and the overall capacity of the pumping stations has reached a million kilowatts.

All of the irrigated land is assigned to teams that are working on the basis of the brigade contract. The servicing of the pumping stations, canals and pipelines is carried out by a specialized organization, oblvodkhoz, which has these structures on its books.

On the irrigated land we have created 15 vegetable sovkhozes, and within a couple of years the production of vegetables increased 2.5-fold. This made it possible to satisfy the demand for them and, in addition to this, to send 100,000 tons a year outside the oblast.

The effectiveness of the irrigated hectare is increasing. Under the current five-year plan as compared to the 10th, feed production has increased 1.6-fold, the productivity of hay from perennial grasses has increased from 40 to 61 quintals per hectare, and corn production has increased by one-third. The average gross yield from an irrigated hectare is 4-4.5 times greater than that on nonirrigated land.

Our real pride and joy is our detachment of more than 50,000 construction workers, installers, scientists and operations workers for the irrigated land. There are more than 11,000 communists and Komsomol members working here. One can say without exaggeration that now the land reclamation worker in the oblast is one of the most honored professions. We are constantly concerned about occupational training and education of the land reclamation workers. In special departments the VUZes of the oblast train agronomists for irrigation farming, hydraulic engineering specialists and engineers for mechanization of water reclamation work, construction workers with hydrotechnical skills, and hydrogeologists. Specialists with secondary qualifications are trained in two technicums. All managers of trusts and construction and installation administrations now have a higher education, and 37 percent of the brigade leaders and team leaders in irrigation farming have higher and secondary educations.

Under the current five-year plan alone we have trained more than 7,000 machine and sprinkler operators, and 956 agronomists specializing in irrigation farming and hydrotechnical engineers. This year practically all of the farms and agricultural and water management organizations have been staffed with specialists and workers in mass occupations who are capable of providing on a scientific basis highly effective utilization of the "gold" fund of the oblast--irrigated land.

Planned retraining of specialists and managers is under way. Thus in the agricultural VUZes of Saratov each year about 60 farm managers study questions of irrigation farming in a 20-hour program. All the brigade and team leaders are undergoing annual training at the Engels Training Course Combine, whose training and production base meets modern requirements. The best farms of the oblast are organizing seminars for studying advanced labor methods and progressive technologies. Specialists in irrigation farming have repeatedly gone to Crimea and Kherson oblasts for exchange of experience. Each year all of the rayons hold scientific and practical conferences on problems of increasing the return from the irrigated hectare. The recommendations they have developed are being widely introduced into practice.

Forms and methods of work with land reclamation personnel are being effectively improved in Novouzenskiy, Krasnokutskiy, Pitserskiy, Yershovskiy and other rayons of the oblast. These questions are considered here at meetings of the buros of the CPSU raykoms, ispolkoms and sessions of rayon and village soviets of people's deputies as well as in the local party organizations. The decisive sections of production are assigned to communists, and party groups are active.

What factors account for the achievement of effective utilization of irrigated land in the region? An entire complex of organizational-political, ideological-educational, agrotechnical and economic measures which are being carried out by the CPSU raykom, the rayispolkom and the RAPO interact here. Questions of land reclamation are regularly discussed in buros and plenums of the CPSU raykom, sessions and meetings of the ispolkom of the rayon soviet of people's deputies, and in local and shop party organizations. Among the 488 land reclamation workers 89 are communists and 62 are Komsomol members. All of the irrigated land is permanent brigades and teams who changed over to the collective contract beginning in 1983. The brigades have good field camps and field agitation points are created for the summer period. The competition among land reclamation workers is well-organized, and for the brigades they have instituted two Challenge Red Banners and for the team--challenge pennants and certificates of honor. Many are competing for the title "Best Land Reclamation Worker in the Rayon."

The CPSU Obkom always supports the valuable undertakings and initiatives originating in the labor collectives which are directed toward increasing the return from irrigation farming, and it is concerned about publicizing, introducing and disseminating advanced experience. The oblast newspaper KOMMUNIST regularly devotes special "poster pages" to this, and the oblast television and radio stations devote programs to it. On the initiative of the CPSU Obkom the scientific research institutes and the oblast administrations

for agriculture, water management and scientific organization of labor are publishing recommendations, posters and booklets devoted to questions of the utilization of irrigated land. Oblast and rayon meetings of advanced workers, and inspections for readiness for agricultural campaigns are held periodically.

On the basis of increasing the areas of claimed land and increasing the effectiveness of their utilization, the oblast party organization has acquired the capability of successfully solving target program problems. This means, above all, a full supply of feeds for animal husbandry and increased production of vegetables and potatoes.

Much has already been achieved here, but we are still far from fully realizing the possibilities of irrigation farming. This was pointed out in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, "Report on the Work of the Saratov CPSU Obkom." The oblast has not solved the problem of obtaining the planned productivity on all irrigated land. At the same time the experience of the leading farms shows the feasibility of this task which has been set and we are convinced that it will be carried out.

The implementation of the earmarked measures will enable the oblast by the end of the 1990s to have 700,000 hectares of irrigated land and to obtain from them 2 million tons of feed units, 500,000 tons of corn grain, and 340,000 tons of vegetables. The production of meat and milk will increase considerably.

By the year 2000, on the basis of extensive introduction into land reclamation construction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, we plan to increase the irrigated land to a million hectares. From these we shall annually receive more than 450,000 tons of vegetables and half of all the feeds, including no less than a million tons of corn grain. This will create a good and stable basis for the development of highly productive animal husbandry and will enable us to make a worthy contribution to the implementation of the country's Food Program.

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CSO: 1800/175

REGIONAL

KASSR: MORE EFFICIENT RECYCLING OF METAL URGED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by T. Akhmetov, deputy chairman of the Taldy-Kurganskiy Oblast Committee of People's Control and T. Asubayev, chairman of the Taldy-Kurganskiy Oblast Industrial Administration for Secondary Ferrous Metals, "Vtorchermet": "Secondary Resources--Recirculated"]

[Excerpts] Every ton of secondary recyclable metal collected has a special, ever increasing and, yes, even a social and public significance in that it not only satisfies the needs of a segment of our economy for valuable raw materials, but also helps to teach us to be prudent in the use of already developed natural riches. This is even the way to lower the cost of production, to save fuel and energy, and to increase the productivity of labor.

We must not assume that the supplies of metals and other mineral resources are limited and that deficiencies cannot be overcome. Mining and geological conditions for extraction worsen. The specific capital investment allocations to retrieve one ton of ore is growing and the cost of production is going up.

In various locations the facts of wasteful management are being overcome and violations to state discipline are being eliminated. It is no secret that a huge amount of useless metal articles remain at manufacturing and construction sites and are being dumped in inhabited areas or taken to garbage dumps where they are irrevocably lost. For the longest time discarded machinery, old machine parts and the metal scrap from industry have not been made available for resmelting, but clutter up the region. Last year throughout the oblast 130 businesses, or every second one, undershipped scrap metal. They failed to provide Vtorchermet 4,500 tons of scrap metal, while still another 1,055 tons is owed by the enterprises of the agricultural equipment association, Sel'khoztekhnika.

What are the reasons for this? First, there is no scientific approach to identifying secondary metal resources and planning lags. Current practice as regards the task of collecting and processing scrap metal is still often done according to the principle, "What's in it for me?" What this adds up to is that several enterprises are fulfilling the plan easily and on time caring little whether every ton of scrap shavings, every discarded machine is put to use more quickly. Others, quite the reverse, receive increased tasks, fail to

complete them, and cause moral and physical losses. While the farms of the oblast agricultural administration planned a six percent growth in 1983, last year to amount was 25.8 percent. Such an approach to planning cannot be called fully organized and ready for action. This is why in 1984 the farms of the oblast agricultural administration failed to make their deliveries and had to pay monthly fines. In all, they fulfilled the annual plan by only two-thirds.

On the other hand, it would be worthwhile to discuss what is, at times, the pronounced wastefulness of several managers. In the course of their investigations, people's control inspectors turned up flagrant violations in how scrap metal is collected, stored, processed and shipped.

At present agriculture is saturated on a grand scale with all kinds of farm machinery. These machines operate under difficult conditions and quickly age, both ethically and physically. However, after having served its use, the machinery often does not get a "second go around." Discarded machines are dumped into junkyards, on small farms and sometimes, right on the fields. At the same time, these farms have not fulfilled the plan for secondary raw materials.

The time has come to make strict demands on enterprises, kolkhozes and sovkhoses because they often haul entire units, assemblies and even equipment fully assembled which, sometimes, must be returned. For one thing it is a wasted trip. There is the loss of time and gasoline. Second, much of what was on these vehicles might be useful as spare parts.

And third, scrap ferrous and non-ferrous metals are mixed together in the process and cannot be used as intended. Non-acceptable fused material is the result. Of course, work is done in our shops to sort the resources, but large enterprises, required by the plan to provide more than 1,500 tons of scrap metal, must remember that they have an obligation to have scrap metal recovery equipment and to ship only secondary raw materials that have been reprocessed.

School children are making a significant contribution in this overall pursuit. Last year they provided more than 2,500 tons of scrap metal. But this figure might have been much higher if all sponsoring collection organizations did their hauling in a timely manner.

People's inspectors are not overlooking these problems. Checks and special investigations help the enterprises, farms and organizations identify reserves. In just 1984 the inspectors of the people's control organs held 31 people responsible, eight of whom had to pay the overall sum of 1,500 rubles.

Moreover, neither sanctions in the form of penalties being imposed by Vtorchermet, nor fines by the people's control organs can compensate for damage and loss that the government has to bear from undershipments. Fines for failure to ship one ton of scrap metal amount to many times less the cost of a ton of metal smelted at a plant. The prosecutor's office must become more active here. It has failed to hold even one person responsible for the systematic failure to deliver ferrous scrap metals and for the huge outlays of fines from... state coffers. The specific individual culprits must be punished, not the enterprises and farms. There is an urgent need in Taldy-Kurgan to build a facility to process secondary raw materials with a capacity of 60,000 tons a year.

REGIONAL

KIRGHIZ ELECTION STATISTICS

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 1 Mar 85 p 1

[Article: "New Victory of the Bloc of Communists and Non-Party Members: Report on the Results of the Elections for the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Kirghiz SSR"]

[Text] (Data on the results of the elections are published in accordance with material received by the Presidium of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Soviet from the executive committees of oblast, rayon and city soviets of people's deputies)

Elections were held 24 February 1985 in the Kirghiz SSR for the local soviets of people's deputies of the Kirghiz SSR.

The elections took place in an atmosphere of great political and labor activity by workers under the sign of the national preparations for the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress, the 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War, and the 80th anniversary of the revolution in Russia during the years 1905 through 1907 and the establishment of the first soviets.

The workers of the republic, in widely extending socialist competition, accepted obligations providing for the early fulfillment and overfulfillment of the planned tasks for 1985 and the five-year plan as a whole. The day of the elections was a national holiday and an outstanding demonstration of the unity of the party and the people.

The preparation for and the holding of the elections took place in full accordance with the Kirghiz SSR Constitution and the Law of the Kirghiz SSR "On Elections for Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the Kirghiz SSR" and they were carried out with the broadest participation of the people.

The elections were held for 4 oblast, 40 rayon, 18 city, 4 rayon in the city of Frunze, 31 community and 384 rural soviets of people's deputies.

For the elections for local soviets, 28,015 election districts were constituted, including 750 election districts for the oblast soviets, 3,835 for the rayon soviets, 2,385 for the city soviets, 600 for the rayon soviets in the city of Frunze, 1,540 for the community soviets, and 18,905 election districts for the rural soviets.

In the Sakaldinskiy Rural Soviet of People's Deputies in Leninskiy Rayon in Osh Oblast, elections were not held due to the death of a deputy candidate. In this district, elections will be held in the near future.

The following data characterize the participation of voters in the elections for local soviets of people's deputies:

<u>Soviets</u>	<u>In percent</u>
Oblast	99.99
Rayon	99.99
City	99.99
Rayon in the city of	
Frunze	99.99
Community	99.99
Rural	99.99

The results of the elections in local soviets of people's deputies are as follows (in percent):

<u>Soviets</u>	<u>Votes for the deputy candidates</u>
Oblast	99.99
Rayon	99.99
City	99.93
Rayon in the city of	
Frunze	99.89
Community	99.94
Rural	99.99

For all local soviets, 28,014 deputies were elected, including 14,043 women, or 50.1 percent; 12,191 CPSU members and candidate members, or 43.5 percent; 15,823 nonmembers of the party, or 56.5 percent; 12,526 workers, or 44.7 percent; 6,877 kolkhoz farmers, or 24.5 percent; 10,152 young people up to 30 years of age, or 36.2 percent; and 7,551 Komsomol members, or 27.0 percent. There were 46.4 percent new deputies.

The results of the elections for local soviets of people's deputies of the Kirghiz SSR and the unanimous vote for the candidates of the bloc of communists and nonmembers of the party again demonstrated the tremendous confidence of the Soviet people in our Leninist party, its Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, as well as the determination of the workers to persist in striving for new successes in all sectors of communist construction in the name of the prosperity and consolidation of the might of our socialist Motherland.

9746
CSO: 1830/414

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN SOVIETS ELECT ISPOLKOM CHAIRMEN

AU271211 Kiev RADYANS'KA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 19 Mar 85 p 3

[RATAU report: "At the sessions of the Soviets of People's Deputies"]

[Excerpt] Oblast soviets, as well as the Kiev and Sevastopol City soviets of people's deputies recently held their first sessions. They elected executive committees, formed and elected permanent commissions of the soviets, approved oblispolkom and gorispolkom section and administration chiefs, and set up people's control committees.

V. F. Tuzanyy was elected Vinnitsa Oblispolkom chairman; V. G. Fedorov--Volyn Oblispolkom chairman, A. V. Merzlenko--Voroshilovgrad Oblispolkom chairman; Yu P. Babich--Dnepropetrovsk Oblispolkom chairman; A. S. Statinov--Donetsk Oblispolkom chairman; V. N. Yanchinskiy--Zhitomir Oblispolkom chairman; M. M. Malevanik--Transcarpathian Oblispolkom chairman, P. I. Moskal'kov--Zaporozhye Oblispolkom chairman, V. A. Boychuk--Ivano-Frankovsk Oblispolkom chairman; I. S. Plyushch--Kiev Oblispolkom chairman; V. I. Zheliba--Kirovograd Oblispolkom chairman, Yu. G. Bakhtin--Crimean Oblispolkom chairman, M. I. Kirey--Lvov Oblispolkom chairman; V. I. Il'in--Nikolayev Oblispolkom chairman, V. F. Pokhodin--Odessa Oblispolkom chairman; A. S. Myakota--Poltava Oblispolkom chairman, P. K. Prishchepa--Rovno Oblispolkom chairman, V. A. Shevchenko--Sumy Oblispolkom chairman, A. I. Tovstakovskiy--Ternopol Oblispolkom chairman; A. S. Maselskiy--Kharkov Oblispolkom chairman; M. M. Kushnerenko--Kherson Oblispolkom chairman; A. N. Popernyak--Khmelnitskiy Oblispolkom chairman; V. N. Shapoval--Cherkassy Oblispolkom chairman; M. V. Grishko--Chernigov Oblispolkom chairman; V. P. Lenchinskiy--Chernovtsy Oblispolkom chairman; V. A. Zgurskiy--Kiev Gorispolkom chairman; and Ye. V. Generalov--Sevastopol Gorispolkom chairman.

CSO: 1811/29

REGIONAL

BELORUSSIA, KAZAKHISTAN SUPREME SOVIETS ELECT OFFICERS

LD231825 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Measures to secure increased production efficiency, to meet the growing material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people in the light of the directives of the March plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were defined today at the sessions of the Supreme Soviets of Belorussia and Kazakhstan. The session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet examined the tasks of the Soviets of people's deputies, ministries, and departments of the republic for the rational disposal of the fuel and energy resources and strengthening the regime for economies. Speakers concentrated their attention on unresolved problems and outlined ways for correcting the shortcomings. The republic People's Control Committee report was also discussed at the session. Comrade Polyakov was elected chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium. Comrade Brovnikov was appointed chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

At the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR the deputies examined the tasks of the administrative and economic bodies for further improvements in trade and consumer services. Speakers noted that the issues of perfecting the conditions of the people at work and at home are receiving permanent attention from the elected representatives of the people. The trade and consumer services in the republic are being raised at all places to a qualitatively new level. At the same time, there are still considerable shortcomings in the functioning of trade and consumer enterprises. Concentrating their attention on the unresolved problems, the deputies outlined ways of overcoming them and further developing trade and consumer services. Comrade Ashimov was elected chairman of the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Nazarbayev was appointed chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. Participating in the work of the session was Comrade Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

CSO: 1800/217

REGIONAL

COMMISSIONING OF INCOMPLETE BUILDING PROJECTS SCORED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 85 p 2

[Article from East Kazakhstan Oblast by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent P. Shchuplov: "That's Over and Done With: How They Commissioned the New Shaft at the Irtyskaya Mine"]

[Excerpts] At the end of year before last an authoritative commission met at the Irtyskaya mine to determine whether or not the new Irtyskaya shaft was to join the ranks of the operational. "Yes," declared the state commission members in unison.. Only the chief of the East Kazakhstan Administration of Gosgortekhnadzor [State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Places and for Mine Supervision] T. Yesov expressed some doubts after studying the long list of unfinished items and problems on the project. Sighing heavily, he finally signed the document to the frank delight of the builders and customers.

So, despite a large number of reservations, the shaft was placed into operation.

But after a week representatives of the mine supervision administration went into the engine room of the shaft's head-frame and sealed the hoist's control panel.

Tursun Satpayevich Yesov explained: "The hoisting equipment turned out to be incomplete and did not have protective devices. The elevator in the head-frame itself did not work. The complex start-up equipment had not been completely finished." The combine's managers promised to settle the urgent problems quickly with the national Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy and to straighten things out in the head-frame. But they didn't keep their word. That's the way the shaft remained for an entire half year.

The combine's new chief engineer, V. Prokhodov, managed to convince higher-ups that the shaft could be put into operation gradually and the problems eliminated as they went.

We went to the important project with the first snow.

In the hoisting machinery building there were numerous gaps in the head-frame, through which sparrows freely passed. And they let the heat out. The builders of the Altaysvinetsstroy Trust also built the roof unreliably. It lets in moisture like a sieve.

The hoist control boxes with (telistor) transformers have been set up in a small room of the head-frame's upper level. The semiconductor device requires special cleanliness and order. But what is this? Bundles of thin, variously colored wires are trapped by rusty terminals and pins. There were traces of dirt on the copper plates. It seems the automatic equipment rusted under the open sky for a long time and was washed by the rains.

In signing the acceptance documents placing the Irtyshskaya shaft into operation, the commission members were aware that it would not be working for many reasons. But as they say: "It's signed and now it's over and done with."

B. Antropov, the commission chairman, figures that he acted in good conscience in signing the document and wanted to start the high-volume cutting of the rich ore as soon as possible. And yet he knew better than the others that the equipment's protective devices did not conform to accident prevention regulations. He also knew that without the elevator and elevator operator people could not get to the head-frame's upper sections. Tursun Satpayevich Yesov, chief of the Gosgortekhnadzor Administration, openly acknowledged that an ordinary inspector from his office would not have signed the documents with their large appendix of incomplete items. Only he, the chief, made concessions and believed the assurances of the combine and mine managers that the commission's comments would be taken care of within the allotted time. He also considered the request of the Glubokovskiy Rayon Party Committee not to "nit-pick about small things," to uphold the authority of the builders and the mining engineers, who worked in good conscience and are not at fault that the customer, the Irtyshskiy Polymetal Combine, did not supply the new shaft with complete equipment and instruments and stored the complex electrical equipment under the open sky.

The Irtyshskaya shaft has been under construction for 10 years, and there is still a long way to go before ores are extracted.

Having signed the acceptance document for the incomplete shaft, the commission aggravated the situation at the mine. The mining engineers transferred their forces to other projects of the combine and the miners calmed down. They had received a huge increase in fixed capital, but the ore extraction plan did not increase. Nothing need be said for the time being and there is no need to disturb the republic Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, especially since the combine is maturing "counterplans" for the reduction of the mine's planned capacity.

It is possible to cite numerous other examples of state commissions irresponsibly approving project for operation when their construction had clearly not been completed.

One conclusion suggests itself: the commission members who approved the operation of these apartment houses did not meet their responsibilities and did not justify the trust of the metallurgists of the Irtyshskiy Copper Smelting Plant.

Many enthusiastic speeches were given on the occasion of the commissioning of the first section of the Ust'-Kamenogorsk Silk Fabric Combine. In a surge of joy the stern commission members forgot about the large list of incomplete items and flaws and did not secure a written warranty. It took 7 years to wipe out this list. The provision of amenities and services and landscaping of the grounds had to be done with local resources.

Here the state commissions which are called on to accept projects in finished form, without reservations and appendices, play a significant role. There can be no allowances for objective and subjective reasons. New capacities should join the ranks of operational ones in accordance with the start-up schedules.

12752

CSO: 1830/259

REGIONAL

KAZAKH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

GF271700 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1515 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpts] The 16th Plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee was held on 27 March 1985.

The participants in the plenum observed a 1-minute silence in honor of the memory of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a prominent activist of the Communist Party and Soviet Government and the international communist and workers' movement, a patriot, an internationalist, and a [word indistinct] fighter for peace.

The plenum heard and discussed a report by Comrade Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee of the tasks of the republic's party organizations for further improving the work with cadres in light of the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee passed resolutions on the question discussed. (The plenum) adopted the decisions of the March 1985 CPSU Central Committee Extraordinary Plenum and the unanimous election of Comrade Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee expressed firm assurance that Kazakhstan's party organizations guided by Leninist principles will more persistently improve its activity for the selection, placement, and education of cadres and for augmenting their responsibility for the work assigned to them, will ensure the verification of the specified tasks of economic and cultural construction, and will respond adequately to the 27th CPSU Congress.

The plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee reviewed the questions of the first session of the 11th convocation of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee reviewed and [word indistinct] information on the progress in fulfilling the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum by the republican party organization.

The plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee reviewed an organizational question. The plenum relieved Comrade Trofimov of his duties as member of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee Buro and secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee due to his transfer to another post. The plenum elected Comrade Rybnikov as member of the Buro and secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee.

With this, the plenum concluded its work. (Mishchenko), chief of a section at the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum.

CSO: 1830/470

REGIONAL

TURKMEN SUPREME SOVIET SESSION HELD IN ASHKHABAD

GF271344 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Excerpts] The first session of the 11th convocation of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet was held at the meeting hall of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet in Ashkhabad today. At 1000, the deputies invited to the session welcomed with applause Comrades Boyko, Gapurov, Zhulenev, Makarkin, Mishchenko, Mollayeva, Niyazov, Rachkov, Charyyev, Schmidt, and Yazkuliyyev, members of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; Khar'kov, candidate member of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee Buro; and Kholov, an instructor at the Organizational Party Work Department of the CPSU Central committee. At the instruction of the Council of Elders, Deputy Berdiyev presented [name indistinct] who is one of the most senior deputies, to announce the opening of the first session of the 11th convocation of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

The participants in the session observed a 1-minute silence in honor of the memory of late Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, a prominent activist of our party and government.

The session then proceeded to elect the chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet and his deputies. At the proposal of Deputy Khar'kov, who delivered a speech at the instruction of the Council of Elders, the session unanimously elected Avezbediyev as chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies Kuldiyev and Aliyeva, who addressed the session at the instruction of the Council of Elders, proposed the election of Deputies Achilov and Masinko as deputy chairmen of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.

The following agenda of the session was approved:

1. The election of the Credentials Commission of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.
2. The conditions of and measures for consolidating socialist law and order in the republic in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 22nd Congress of the Turkmenistan Communist Party and the demands of the USSR and Turkmen SSR constitutions.

3. The election of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
4. The formation of the standing commissions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet.
5. The formation of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers.
6. The formation of the Turkmen SSR Committee of People's Control.
7. The election of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Court.
8. The progress in fulfilling the resolutions of the first and sixth sessions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th convocation on the question of municipal and consumer services to the republic's population, citing Chardzhou oblast as an example.
9. The approval of the laws of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Supreme Soviet approved the sequence of work of the first session and proceeded to examine the question topping the agenda. At the proposal of Deputy Mollayev, who spoke at the instruction of the Council of Elders, the Supreme Soviet selected the Credentials Commission. Deputy Ashirov was unanimously elected as chairman of the commission. Then, the Supreme Soviet heard a report by the Turkmen SSR Procurator, Deputy Kartinko, on the condition of and measures for consolidating socialist law and order in the republic in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 22nd Congress of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party and the demands of the USSR and Turkmen SSR constitutions. Deputy Ashirov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, announced to the session the results of examining the authority of the deputies elected to the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation. The session unanimously passed a resolution approving the authority of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet elected from all the [word indistinct] electoral okrugs. After that, the discussion of Deputy Kartinko's report began. [passage omitted] Resolutions were unanimously passed on the question discussed.

The session proceeded to examine the third question of the agenda -- the election of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputy Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, was given the floor to speak. At the instruction of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee, he made a proposal supported by the party group and the Council of Elders of the Supreme Soviet on the staff of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The session unanimously elected Deputy Yazkuliyeu as chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Schmidt and [names indistinct] were elected as deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Deputy Nazarova was elected as the presidium's secretary. The session also elected the 11 members of the presidium. Yazkuliyeu, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered an important speech at the session.

Avezbeldiyev, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] from the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers read a statement on the relationship of the republic's government and its (authority) with [word indistinct] elected by the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. In connection with this and at the instruction of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, Deputy Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, made a proposal supported by the party group and the Council of Elders of the Supreme Soviet to have Deputy Niyazov elected as chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers and another proposal on the staff of the republic's government and the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers. A resolution was unanimously passed on Deputy Gapurov's proposal.

After that, the session proceeded to form the standing commissions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet. At the proposal of Deputy Amanberdiyev, who spoke at the instruction of the soviet of elders, the following standing commissions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet were formed:

1. Legislative Proposals Commission;
2. Foreign Affairs Commission;
3. Planning and Budget Commission;
4. Industry, Transport, and Communications Commission;
5. Energy Commission;
6. Construction and Construction Materials Industry Commission;
7. Agriculture and Protection of Nature Commission;
8. Land Reclamation and Water Resources Commission;
9. Health and Social Security Commission;
10. Education and Science Commission;
11. Culture and Sports Commission;
12. Trade and Public Catering Commission;
13. Municipal and Consumer Services Commission;
14. Maternity, Child Development, and the Work and Life of Women Commission;
- and
15. Youth Affairs Commission.

In accordance with instructions given to him, Deputy Niyazov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, presented a report on the staff of the republic's Council of Ministers for review by the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet unanimously approved the proposed staff of the Turkmen SSR Government. Deputy Niyazov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, presented a statement on the council's impending activity. Relevant resolutions were passed on this question.

Deputy Rachkov, second secretary of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on the next question of the session's agenda --the formation of the Turkmen SSR Committee of People's Control. He made a proposal supported by the party group and the Council of Elders on the quantitative and personal staff of the committee. The Supreme Soviet approved the staff of the Turkmen SSR Committee of People's Control under the chairmanship of Deputy Makarkin.

At the proposal of deputy [name indistinct] chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, supported by the party group and the Council of Elders, the Supreme Soviet elected the Turkmen SSR Supreme Court under the chairmanship of Deputy Mukhamedkuliyeu.

After that, the session proceeded to the question on the progress in fulfilling the resolutions of the first and sixth sessions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th convocation on the questions of municipal and consumer services to the republic's population taking Chardzhou Oblast as an example. Deputy Annayev, chairman of Chardzhou Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, delivered a report. [passage omitted]

Deputy Nazarova, secretary of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report on the approval of the laws of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Supreme Soviet passed relevant laws and resolutions on her report.

With this, the first session of the 11th convocation of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet concluded its work.

A meeting-seminar of the newly elected deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet was held on the same day to discuss the deputies' activities in light of the demands of the law of the people's deputies in the USSR. Yazkuliyeu, member of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee Buro and chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered a report.

Then, the standing commissions of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet held their first meetings. The commissions reviewed organizational questions and approved the plans of their work for 1985.

CSO: 1830/472

REGIONAL

NEW CHAIRMAN OF KASHKADARYA OBLISPOLKOM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 15 March 1985 carries on page 3 a 300-word report on the results of the sessions of oblast soviets in Uzbekistan. Included in the report is the announcement of A. G. Kadin's election to the post of chairman of the Kashkadarya Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

NEW CHAIRMAN OF TASHKENT OBLISPOLKOM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 16 March 1985 carries on page 2 a 100-word UzTAG article reporting on the 15 March session of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies at which A. Saidkhodzhayev was elected to the post of chairman of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

PATRIOTIC WAR COMMEMORATIVE TOUR VISITS TASHKENT

[Editorial Report] Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian on 16 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 400-word UzTAG article titled "Be Equal to the Exploit" which reports on the 15 March arrival in Tashkent of delegates of a propaganda tour of the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus for the purpose of commemorating the 40th anniversary of the "historic victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism." The tour has been organized by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the Military Council of the USSR Air Force. The delegates were met at the Tashkent airport by I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, G.Kh Kadyrov, R.Kh. Abdulayeva, I.G. Anisimkin, and U.U. Umarov. The traveling delegates included the following military officials: Aviation Marshal and Hero of the Soviet Union Ivan Ivanovich Pstygo; Lieutenant-General and twice Hero of the Soviet Union P.A. Taran; Hero of the Soviet Union B.I. Kovzan; USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut and Hero of the Soviet Union V.I. Rozhdestvenskiy; Major-General of Aviation and twice Hero of the Soviet Union A.N. Prokhorov; Lieutenant-General of Aviation, Hero of the Soviet Union and Honored Test Pilot S.A. Mikoyan; film director and Hero of the Soviet Union Ye.A. Zhigulenko; Major-General of Aviation and Hero of the Soviet Union P.A. Plotnikov; Lieutenant-General of Aviation and twice Hero of the Soviet Union V.I. Popkov; Lieutenant-General and Hero of the Soviet Union N.A. Kozlov. The officials visited several schools and vocational schools in Tashkent with the message that it is "important to intensify the activity of Komsomol organizations in military-patriotic training and in attracting youth into the military academies of the USSR Air Force."

REGIONAL

BELGIAN AMBASSADOR VISITS ARMENIA

[Editorial Report] Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian on 27 March 1985 on page 1 carries a 100-word Armenpress article announcing the arrival in Armenia of the Belgian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Rene Panis. He was received by the Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs Dzh S. Kirokasyan. The minister discussed with the Belgian ambassador Armenia's history, its people and their economic, social and cultural achievements under socialism. That day the ambassador also visited the Erevan gorispolkom national deputies and was told about the future plans for the city's development. S. P. Simonyan, the Armenian SSR general secretary of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, was present at the reception. Dzh S. Kirokasyan was also present at the meeting which took place between the Belgian ambassador and B. E. Sarkisov, chairman of the presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet which was reported in Yerevan KOMMUNIST on page 1 on the following day. Kirokasyan described the activities of the higher levels of government and the regional councils. He told the Belgian ambassador that the Armenian people completely support the "peace-loving internal policy of the Communist Party CC and the Soviet government."

CSO: 1830/464

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

COMMISSION HOLDS MEETING--The Auditing Commission of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee held a meeting in Ashkhabad today. Sukhanov, chairman of the commission, delivered a report on the results of the work of the auditing commission during 1984 and the tasks for 1985. The working plan of the auditing commission of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee for 1985 was approved. [Text] [Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 25 Mar 85]

GAPUROV ADDRESSES PLENUM--A plenum of the Mary Obkom was held today. [Lesisky], second secretary of the oblast party committee, delivered a report on the tasks of the oblast's party organizations for further improving the work with cadres in light of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee. [passage omitted] Organizational questions were reviewed at the plenum. Akgayev was relieved of his commitments as first secretary of the obkom and was discharged from the composition of the obkom buro due to his retirement. Bedzhenev, who previously was first secretary of Kafshinskiy raykom, was elected as first secretary and member of the Mary Party Obkom Buro. Comrade Gapurov, first secretary of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum. Khar'kov, chief of the Organizational Party Work Department of the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum. [Excerpts] [Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 27 Mar 85]

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